áhimos -- ghost
alko -- dog; also a term used in approbation for a person who doesn't like to work
číngalo -- the triangle, a Paez musical instrument
čúnga -- a top; one of a child's toys
dúrat -- menstrual hut
eč -- the most evil of all spirits, dwellers in the earth
eč kígwe -- the land of the dead corresponding to hell
enzte̲ -- a large annual fishing expedition of the entire village, usually in the dry season of February
fi'nz oṅ -- the second meal of the day, at 3-4 p.m.
gělyómp -- mountain spirit
hé̲nde -- hole-ball; a hollowed out fruit capsule used in a children's game
iglésia -- church
ítok -- shamanistic "signs"
káka -- small cylindrical drums
kánoe -- a trough for storing chicha
ki'sen -- non-working days, now used in reference to Sunday
koi -- the transverse flute
kosé oṅ -- the first meal of the day, around 4-5 a.m.
kotç -- maize
kotyâvyat -- maize store house

1: Nachtigall SC15 Paez SC15--2

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kut -- a bass drum
lōčinyi -- girls' dolls
mbāts -- agave
mbéca -- chicha, an alcoholic beverage
mbéka kígwe -- the happy land of death; heaven
mīś -- cat
ndōsoknas -- the midwife
nikálo -- the bridal couple
pand̲eré̲ta -- the tambourine
sāt -- war leaders with shamanistic abilities
tátyinas -- god, creator
tikwe -- a term used to designate priests and missionaries
tũs -- the rainbow spirit
úńsa -- mice
vacaloca -- a representation of a cow used in religious festivals
wáhi -- tobacco

Tierradentro, Archeology and Ethnography of a Colombian Region

[Tierradentro, Archäologie und Ethnographie einer Kolumbianischen Landschaft]

Horst Nachtigall

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[Title page]

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Foreword by the Editor

121 This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from
[122] the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemein-
[128] schaft for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

/9/

Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/9 cont./

114 Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952,
[101] to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the
direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador
at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20,
1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de
[126] Antropología. After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities
in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where
we collected the field material of the present publication during
the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the
Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de
Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my
sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio
Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de
Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help
rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President
of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique
Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in
Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful
to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to
me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence
in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite
unpleasant work of digging.

126 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms
122 generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs
published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar
/10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar
1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Héligon
1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto
lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were
used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment
with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave
holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and
Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes.
Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served
as negative material for the photographs.

/10 cont. /

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

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Tierradentra

/11/

Part I

Archeology

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/13/

I. Introduction

1. The Geographical Position of Tierradentro

131 101 133 The Colombian region of Tierradentro, the "land that lies within," has, by reason of its archeological finds and the largest Indian tribe of Colombia living enclosed there, the Paez, come to represent the typical Colombian regional and cultural province. It lies in the southern part of Colombia, almost directly north of the large knot of mountains, the Colombian massif, in which the largest rivers of Colombia, the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Caquetá, originate. Here the mountain chain of the Cordilleras divides into three branches -- separated by Cauca and Magdalena -- to intersect the entire country from south to north as the Western Cordillera, the Central Cordillera, and the Eastern Cordillera.

[634] [633] Politically Tierradentro forms the eastern part of the department of Cauca, whose chief city is Popayán and whose economic and political weight lies in the Cauca Valley. Geographically, however, it belongs to the drainage area of the Magdalena River. The ridge of the Central Cordillera, from Nevado del Huila over the paramos /see the glossary, p. 249/ of Moras, Las Delicias, and Guanacas, forms the western boundary of the area, whose surface shape is triangular, and the course of the Rio Negro de Narvaez, from Nevado del Huila to where it empties into the Rio Paez at Itaibe, forms the eastern boundary. The southern boundary is formed by the ridge of the mountains between the Río de la Plata and the drainage area of the Rio Paez.

133 Nevado del Huila at 7,550 meters is the highest elevation of the Colombian Central Cordillera and the highest mountain of Colombia, next to Cristóbal Colón of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, which is only a few meters higher. Its peak, covered with eternal snow, feeds, among others, the Rio Paez and the Rio

C /13 cont./
133 Negro de Narvaez, the principal rivers of Tierradentro. They
C drain into the Magdalena River, like all the rivers on the eastern
487 slope of the Central Cordillera. The principal traffic routes of
133 Tierradentro also lead to the Magdalena Valley, the most im-
C portant one leading down to the Rio Paez by way of /14/ La Plata
[632] to Neiva or Garzón. Thus, La Plata forms the center of trade
and communication for this area, which economically, however,
is not yet very accessible.

Even the earliest chroniclers described Tierradentro as
a land of "eternal up and down." As a matter of fact, despite
its excellent climate for colonization, the large number of small
rivers cutting deep into the mountains represents a great obstacle
P to accessibility for communication, without which more extensive
[161] agricultural production is not profitable. The impassability is
[101] one of the reasons that the Paez Indians here, with a total number
of about 25,000 persons, have maintained themselves racially pure
and, in a few mountain valleys, in a relatively original state
C culturally.

132- The climatic differences of this region lying less than
133 three degrees of latitude north of the equator are considerable, de-
c pending on the elevation. Neiva, lying 472 meters high on the
[633] Magdalena River and the capital of the department of Huila, is
one of the warmest cities of Colombia with an average temperature
of 30°. Nevado del Huila, lying only 75 kilometers to the west
in a straight line, is covered with eternal snow. In between
C there is an average temperature of 21° at 1,200 meters elevation
[361] and one of 11° at 3,000 meters. The predominant elevation of the
settlements in the southern part of Tierradentro lies between 1,400
C and 1,700 meters, which corresponds to a mean temperature of
[245] 18-20°. This is the best climate for the Colombian coffee. At
[249] the same time it is an excellent climate and elevation for the
[233] planting of sugar cane and maize and for cattle-raising, economic
P C activities that only the colonists profit by in a commercial sense.
[648] The Paez villages lying in this climate are therefore extensively
P overrun by colonists, and broad stretches of land have been taken
[361] by them for agricultural use. Here the mountain slopes which
C [311]

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Tierradentro

Here the mountain slopes which
/14 cont./
C 311 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are
134 now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing
P extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus cover-
361 ing and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different
132 in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern
Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco,
P Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights
[241] are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its
P stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-
[233] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle-
P [311] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic
[134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water con-
servation throughout the year.

C 132 The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June
and October to December. During these times, especially in
the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in considerable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly
free of precipitation.

C
317 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been ex-
175 plored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even
[135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary,
C 175 p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards
317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose
563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of
464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the
316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained
C 316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of
C [103] Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor
near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important
finds.

C 487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes
passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle
paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connections were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and
Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via
La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/15 cont./
800 C La Plata into the Magdalena Valley. Since the construction
491 of an auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, there is a good
c road connection both to the Cauca Valley and to the Magdalena
489 Valley. From La Plata a bus goes to Garzón in four hours and
[494] to Neiva in seven hours. At the present time both cities have
[509] twice-weekly air service to Bogotá and Neiva, besides a daily
[497] train connection with the capital of the country. It takes about
c [494] ten hours by bus to go from La Plata over the Central Cordillera
c to Popayán. From Popayán there is daily air service to all parts
[509] of the country.

p c Most of the archeological sites and the most important
172 ones lie near the small village of San Andrés, on the hilltops
489 and ranges of the valley of the same name. The place lies
361 about six kilometers straight north of Inzá, separated from it by
the Rio Ullucus and El Aguacate range. In order to get from La
Plata to San Andrés, one first takes the road toward Belalcázar
p up the Rio Paez to Juntas, the point of confluence of the Rio
c [492] Ullucus with the Rio Paez. From Juntas one must ride horseback
p west into the mountains for about three hours in order to reach
c San Andrés. This place is a village with the same characteristics
361 as all Paez villages, that is to say, it consists of only /16/ a church,
162 a school, the house of the town council, and a few other houses
c used by merchants and by the inhabitants for religious festivals.
[241] The latter, Paez Indians and colonists, live on individual farms
on the slopes of the mountains along the valleys of the small
streams, in a very unfavorable distribution, to be sure, as far
as the Paez are concerned: the white and mixed-colored colonists
live in the fertile valleys, mainly along the river courses, where
they grow coffee, maize, and sugar cane, whereas the Indios
must be content with the relatively unfruitful slopes.

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Tierradentro

/16 cont. /

2. The Investigation of the Prehistoric Cultures of Tierradentro

484 The numerous mountain ranges and deeply cut watercourses
which traverse the entire Tierradentro region make travel other
[492] than on the roads very arduous. The visitor is dependent upon
horse or mula /female mule/ as a means of travel: the former
is the more pleasant because of its ambling pace; the mula is
the safer method of travel because of its instinctive sureness at
night and in difficult terrain.

122 In general every valley basin constitutes a village. In
114 order to get from one to another either wide detours must be
172 made in the valley or the ranges must be crossed on very narrow
[361] and steep zigzag paths. This -- along with the rebuffing attitude
[487] of the Paez -- is one reason that the archeological and ethnologi-
[609] cal investigation of Tierradentro was not started until very late.
114 The first reporter on the prehistoric finds was the Colombian gen-
172 eral and geographer, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who on his expeditions through large parts of Colombia, after his visit in San Augustín in the year 1882, also stayed in the Tierradentro region and gives us the first report about "strange cemeteries and large underground chambers" with pillars, rows of pillars, and niches. He reports further about human figures of stone that are very similar to those of San Augustín (Vol. I, pp. 241-243). In the edition of 1920, C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. I, pp. 273-277) at the same time cites the report of a commission consisting of Victor Trujillo and Bernardino Montealegre, who for the first time describe the statues of Aguabonita. A member of the commission, Victor Trujillo, gives a separate report about them in 1935 in the periodical Educacion. His announcement that he was the discoverer of the /17/ statues of Aguabonita is contradicted by Cenon M. Valencia in an article in the periodical Huila Historica. According to this, their discoverer was a native named Ignacio Cotacio, who found these statues in September, 1918.

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Tierradentro

/17 cont./

114
172 The next travelers who visited the region of the archeological grave-chambers and statues around San Andrés and Inzá, for two days each, were the Belgian Marquis de Wavrin and the German-American H. Walde-Waldegg. In 1931 the Marquis de Wavrin, after he had first reported on the presence of a number of new statues in Nariño and San Agustín, inspected some of the grave chambers on a journey through Tierradentro and reported on them in various articles from 1932 on. A summary report of his long and numerous journeys and adventures in Colombia appeared in 1953.

The systematic investigation of the grave chambers of Tierradentro began in 1936 when the German geologist, Georg Bürg, then a professor at the University of Popayán, made new discoveries of a large number of grave chambers and had a few of them cleaned out. After a report to the department of Cauca he was granted the means to provide protective roofs for the [113] most important grave chambers. His brief publication appeared in the Ibero-Amerikanischen Archiv, 1937/38.

In July of the same year the Colombian archeologist, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, was commissioned by the Colombian Ministry of Education to draw up a report on the archeological [113] finds of Tierradentro. His descriptions and sketches of ornamentation, published by him in 1938 in the periodical Revista de las Indias, are the first scientific publications on the types of the grave chambers of Tierradentro.

In the same year in which Georg Bürg and Gregorio Hernandez de Alba worked in Tierradentro, the Spanish archeologist, José Perez de Barradas, was also commissioned by the Colombian Minister of Education to study the Tierradentro culture now moving into the light of Colombian publicity. He had shortly before been invited by the Colombian Ministry of Education to do archaeological research, and in October, 1936, he spent two weeks in San Andrés and Inzá in order to make a first complete inventory of the statues and grave chambers known up to this time. His publication, which forms the basis of all further research, appeared in 1937 as the first volume of the publications

/17 cont./

114
172 of the archeological section in the Colombian Ministry of Education.

114 Although archeological work in Tierradentro up to this
172 time was limited /18/ to the inventory and preservation of what
815 was at hand, that is to say, of the chambered graves opened up and plundered by the guaqueros /see the glossary, p. 249/, this changed with the subsequent founding in 1941 of a Colombian national ethnological institute in which a number of young Colombians, under the leadership of Paul Rivet and with the cooperation of Gregorio Hernandez de Alba and Wolfram Schottelius, were trained as archeologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists. One of the first scientific and methodologically unobjectionable field-trips was conducted in the winter dry season of 1942/43
[113] in Tierradentro by E. Silva Celis. The results were published in the first volume of the newly founded Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacionál. The excavations include the sites "Parte alta de las Huacas" (today: "El Duende") and "La Montaña."

172 Subsequently the government bought up the land of the
654 most important sites and combined them for the archeological park of Tierradentro. Below the site "Segovia," which belongs to the village of San Andrés, a house was equipped with the necessary working and living rooms for the scientists working there and a small museum was set up for the archeological objects. The sites of El Tablón, Segovia, El Duende, and the Alto
172 de San Andrés belong to the archeological park. Other sites,
656 some of them important for science, are still in private ownership.
423 According to Law No. 103 passed in 1931, all antiquities in the ground within the Colombian national boundaries belong to the state. They may be dug up only by archeologists authorized by the government. The landowners, however, often refuse to give permission for explorations and excavation, for, according to another, older law, half the value of the antiquities found on their property belongs to them. In order, on the one hand, to avoid having their land declared valuable for archeological research and bought up by the state and, on the other hand, to circumvent the difficult and tedious formalities to obtain the

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Tierradentro

C /18 cont./
172 discovery value of the objects brought to light, the landowners
656 often have them dug up by guaqueros and sold for their own
423 benefit. Digging for spoils on the part of the guaqueros is, of
course, forbidden by the law mentioned. Since, however, the
archeological sites are almost never in the vicinity of cities or
police stations, this uncontrollable digging is practiced even
today in large parts of the country, to the detriment of the science
C of archeology.

172 The excavation sites belonging to the park lie within sight
484 of the administration building. The other sites are often to be
487 reached only by very narrow and steep paths. For example, in
C order to reach El /19/ Canadá, one travels on horseback for an
[492] hour. It takes just as long to climb on foot the Filo de El
Aguacate, to which the detour on horseback takes more than
twice as long. At least the same amount of time, one to three
hours, is also generally required for the trip from one village to
another.

C
133 The sharply fissured, steeply rising mountains around the
172 archeological park represent the typical panorama of the
Tierradentro region (Ills. 5-9 /see pp. 261-263/). The archeological sites with the grave chambers are always on heights, the
C simpler ones on the peaks of the highest ridges, the largest and
133 most splendid ones on leveled-off hilltops below these. One has
361 the best view of the valley of San Andrés from its western end,
the Yokaichí ridge, beyond which the valley of Kokiyó, with the
village of Calderas, begins. From here one has a broad view as
far as the Dondotá ridge, which borders the towns of Suin and
Chinas. To the north the Chíndava Mountains border the village
of Togóima. Looking eastward in the direction of our ascent,
the houses of Supón lie directly below us, then comes the village
of San Andrés, then about two kilometers downstream the administrative building for the park, and about two kilometers below
C the park the point Cruzero, from which the road from San Andrés
133 to Juntas branches off in the direction of Inzá. Still farther east,
r
[823] forming the imposing background of this mountainous landscape,
[776] lie the towns of Pedregál and Turminá, and behind them the
[173]

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /19 cont./
133 dome of "Picacho des Trueno," the mountain of thunder and
? lightning, in which the Paez of San Andrés believe that the
[823] thunder lives and in which -- in the opinion of some Indios --
[776] the Paez, after the destruction of the city of La Plata (1577),
[173] hid the captured gold and silver, the bells and figures of saints
of the old Spanish silver city devastated by them.

C
126 My own archeological research in the Tierradentro region
172 includes an inventory of the archeological objects, as well as
114 prehistoric excavations within the sites of the Alto de San Andrés, the Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá, and Segovia. For the inventory, exact outline and sectional drawings of the various grave types were first of all undertaken. The photographs of the grave chambers /not reproduced for the translation/ show all the types of decoration that occur. Furthermore, the statues present in the Tierradentro region, as well as the types of ceramics, are completely illustrated /not reproduced for the translation/. The excavations include intact grave-chambers not yet opened by pirate diggers, with the first completely preserved burial urns of the Tierradentro culture of the chambered graves.

C
172 /20/ In the description and numbering of the grave chambers the numbering used after the establishment of the park was changed. On the Alto de San Andrés today this is the reverse of what it was formerly, since the entrance of the now fenced-in area lies in the direction of the San Andrés River. The present grave chamber No. 1 corresponds to the No. 12 of G. Hernandez de Alba and J. Perez de Barradas. In Segovia, too, the numbering of the grave chambers has changed. The only chambers published thus far, Nos. H. 1 and H 2 of G. Hernandez de Alba, or Nos. 1 and 2 of J. Perez de Barradas, now lie farthest from the entrance and correspond to Nos. 35 and 38. The designations of a few of the sites were also changed. The archeological site "Necropolis de San Andrés" is now officially called "Alto de San Andrés," the "Loma Alta de San Andrés" is now "Filo de El Aguacate," and the "Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas" is now "El Duende." /The remainder of p. 20 and pp. 21-96 are omitted in the translation./

Pasto SC17

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Part II

Ethnography

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/99/

I. Introduction

1. Historical Sketch of the History of the Paez since the Conquista

P 175 When the Spanish general, Sebastian de Belalcazar, as lieutenant general of Francisco Pizarro, conquered the northern part of the Inca kingdom and founded the city of Quito in the year 1534, he made careful inquiries about the countries lying farther north. Then he met a foreign Indian who gave his name as Muquetá and that of his cacique /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ as Gogotá. When he was further questioned as to whether his country contained the metal that the Spaniards called gold, he eagerly affirmed this and added that in his country there is a lagoon /see the glossary, p. 249/, upon which his cacique travels with a raft several times a year, powdered from head to foot with gold dust, so that he looks like a gilded man, In this fashion he offers gold objects to the sun, whereupon he washes off his body and offers this gold, too, as a sacrifice. This story was the reason that Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1535 sent Diego de Tapia on an exploration to the north, in the direction of the land of El Dorado, the gilded man. He reached the present Rio 7 70 Carchi. This became the starting point of the conquest of southern Colombia by the Spaniards.

175 648 The resistance against the intruders shown by the natives of southern Colombia differed. The tribes of the Pasto and Quillacinga and the Cauca Valley tribes around Popayán offered only slight resistance. They had already been subjugated earlier P by the soldiers of the Inca, whose kingdom with its northernmost 175 648 expansion reached as far as Rio Ancasmayo. The Paez, Guambiano, Andaqui, and Pijao, on the other hand, living in barely accessible

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parts of the Central Cordillera, offered the Spaniards violent and quite successful resistance. In the same year that Belalcazar sent out the first expedition, a troop of Spaniards under Pedro de Añasco set out for the north. In 1536 Belalcazar likewise followed him. In the course of that year he founded the cities of Popayán and Cali in the Cauca Valley, important /100/ starting points for further explorations. The latter proceeded in the direction of the Central Cordillera, the paramos of Moras and Guanacos, and Tierradentro. Amid constant battles with the Paez, who at that time occupied a considerably larger area than today, Belalcazar was repulsed and was obliged to return to Popayán and Lima, leaving behind 26 Spaniards, among them several officers. In 1537 he undertook a second assault from Popayán, in order to reach the land of El Dorado through Tierradentro. With 100 horsemen, 200 infantrymen, and more than a thousand Indios as porters, he came to the Magdalena River without being hindered by the Paez. After four months of hard fighting with the natives of the Magdalena Valley, he finally, on the plateau of Bogotá, met the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who had shortly before come from the north. A threatened clash of weapons between the two conquerors was prevented by the arrival of a third conquistador, that is, when Nikolaus Federmann, the German mercenary leader who was in the service of the Welsers /a German banking house/, reached Bogotá from the east, through the lowlands of Venezuela.

We again hear about the martial activity of the Paez when in 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco, with immeasurably cruel treatment of the natives, pushed into the Magdalena Valley, in order to keep open, at the command of Belalcazar, the connecting route from Quito to Santa Fé de Bogatá, the capital of the newly founded viceroyalty of New Granada. In a desperate battle 5,000 warriors of the united Timaná, Yalcon, Paez, and Apirama succeeded in overpowering the Spaniards and capturing their leader, Pedro de Añasco. The Indios provided a dreadful fate for him, who had had the son of the female cacique of the Timaná, Gaitana, burned. Gaitana, upon whose urging the

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alliance of the tribes against the Spaniards had come about, had him dragged from village to village and one of his limbs hacked off each day.

In order to avenge the death of his comrade-in-arms, Juan de Ampudia with his mercenaries then set out in 1539/40 from Popayán for Tierradentro. But he and his mercenaries were overcome by the same fate. He himself lost his life, and his men were driven back by the Paez amid great losses. Not discouraged by this fate of his predecessors, Francisco Garcia set out on a new expedition into Tierradentro, but he, too, failed completely. The cacique Gaitana achieved, by means of fiery speeches, a renewed alliance of the Timaná, Paez, Yalcon, Apirama, Guanaca, and Pijao, and with 10,000 men she fell upon the city of Timaná and /101/ destroyed it. Its defender, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fell in an attempt, with his riders, to break through the dense swarm of Indian troops armed with the new weapon of lances 40 spans long.

Soon afterward Juan Cabrera was called from Neiva to Timaná for its reconstruction. The Yalcon offered peace and their co-operation in the reconstruction of the city destroyed by them. Juan Cabrera accepted this, and then, when the Yalcon and their caciques were assembled, he fell upon them from ambush and killed their caciques and the greater part of the men. There has not been a tribe of Yalcon since then.

The Paez remained intact and kept their peace until in 1543 Belalcazar returned from a brief stay in Spain and now, with 1,000 horsemen and fully equipped, undertook from Popayán an expedition of retaliation against the Paez. The Paez, fighting for their freedom in their mountains, stood up against the most experienced general of Spain. After severe, bloody losses Belalcazar was obliged to withdraw in defeat. From then on he made no further attempts to subjugate the Paez (*).

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* There is a detailed description of this era, briefly sketched here, in H. Trimborn (1954), pp. 67-84 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 327/.

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175 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a
648 new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La
Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the
next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San
Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the
Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary
body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was
also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the
conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had
destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered
the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the
inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king
energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which
from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the
troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder.
In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the
region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them
today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves
with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the
[797] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the
Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers
[164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell
[731] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew
to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the
colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 The Paez continued to defend their country against the
648 Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks,
797 made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent
period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing
and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one
648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the
177 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a
175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civilization
[361] for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the
establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

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175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[131] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

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127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez,
127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest
[161] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next
to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the
northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from
[797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as
a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he
reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some
cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in
1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian
general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys,
also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south
and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures.
The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the
American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906,
coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the
northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in
Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the
archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise
lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic
notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland
tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also
reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in
connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez
undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first
thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the
religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in
Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San
Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

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f 128 [127] Since, therefore, a total description of the culture of the Paez does not yet exist, a tribal monograph on the Paez is herewith presented in the following, in which, besides the data from my own investigations, the results of the earlier investigators have been incorporated. Much will have escaped me -- as a result of the short time at my disposal and the inaccessibility of the population -- much that was part of the domestic economy /104/ of Paez culture has already been destroyed as a result of advancing civilization and is therefore lost forever. In the following description of the cultural heritage of the Paez a division has been made, for working purposes, with regard to material and spiritual culture and with regard to the description of social forms. In practice a sharp line of demarcation cannot normally be drawn within a culture between these aspects of it, since these three areas do not lead a separate existence, but are closely bound up with the acting human being as the creator and bearer of culture. This is true to a greater extent for primitive peoples, where all areas of human activity are much more closely linked together, than in modern high culture where the individual sectors of activity are specialized to a high degree and accordingly may be treated and investigated separately. Thus if, for practical reasons, in the following tribal description the form of settlement is described under material culture and shamanism under spiritual culture, nevertheless both factors are also of great importance from the sociological point of view. Conversely, family organization, for example, as part of the description of society, is also very closely bound up with the economy and techniques in the primarily material realm, and also with religion.

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2. Demography

131 C 632 Altogether the Tierradentro area embraces about 5,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,000 square kilometers fall in the region north of the Rio Ullucus. Its 18 villages are divided into two municipios (administrative districts) /see the glossary, p.249 /, the southern one of which includes three villages with Inzá as the seat of the administration, while the northern one

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632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcâzar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian
de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was
P unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-
162 colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 in-
632 habitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with
3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total
of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of
C which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
[114] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938
and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio
of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p.
P 285).

641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
[162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
[851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
[191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
641 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their
423 totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
P the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
641 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
423 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
691 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who
648 are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands
into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The
latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to
lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain
in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always
lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of
Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early
as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by
the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake any-
thing against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise
owning land.

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162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three
groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists
living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have
nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they
correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo,
Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of
Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in
common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards
in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines
C that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt
[316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on
gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive
P fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees
[563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes,
[186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they
at one time came there as slaves.

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162 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled
361 both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila.
563 They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist
P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo,
[103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés,
San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

P c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila,
162 Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez
103 of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most
P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma-
114 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the
121 culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants
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181 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap-
648 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the
101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which
were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say:
1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez,
2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez
are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law
in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

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648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101/181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed. 123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

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* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

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123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and
salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum
cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him
a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next
morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived
the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her
husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in
order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the
interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old
from San Andrês, who regarded himself as very civilized and
who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a
[191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his
[245] *finca* /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees,
[439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on
[464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman
for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez.
During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services.
[233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic
sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf
is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for
[437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos
Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought
[434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about
200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the
Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling
115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded
124 the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what
he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the
beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated
or explanations that were too long for him he would give
"in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously
annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important
work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and
calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the
pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he
"found" them in the evening.

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115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun
Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded
with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once
visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca.
Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became
involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter
took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been
blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to
school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano
is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with
[191] Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has
[464] already earned money on occasion in the service of the white
colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to
[829] buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez
mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing,
education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color
or other characteristics of the white race.

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano
156 was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he
554 dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers
were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we
visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he
was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk
with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he
thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears
"white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work
among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the
Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust
to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites
merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

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115 Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher
156 culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush
554 for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these
[598] toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of
286 principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves;
386 when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again
423 in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

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124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom
this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and
generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[123] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they
are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in
[522] their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and
loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
157 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
521 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
522 an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light,
[831] idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls
are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand,
and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by
making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied
by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[797] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own
houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

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609 parts of the Mass, as they have understood it, in an exaggeratedly
522 dramatic fashion. The priest has a difficult office in any case.
797 They do not understand his sermons and teachings in the church,
157 conducted in the Spanish language. If he speaks their own language,
his inevitable mistakes are commented upon amid loud
laughter.

123 On our first visit to Calderas, a man about 30 years old
met us at the boundary of the village and asked us in a gruff tone
whether we did not know that this land was only for the Paez.
No white man had any business here. We should turn back, for
no one wanted our visit. Marcos Antonio intervened and explained
that we had only come to bring gifts to the Calderun
and that we had no intention of settling down in Calderas. We
would surely leave again the next day. The man let this pass
and warned us upon departure not to dare try to steal any land.
[223] Even later we never obtained permission from the cabildo, the
village council, to remain in the village more than a week at
a time. Our reputation among the younger people of the village
improved from week to week, on the one hand because we offered
a cigarette to each man and each woman with whom we had an
opportunity to talk, but even more because -- as we were told
later -- we were friendly to everyone and always /111/ laughed.
[248] As a matter of fact, it would never occur to any of the white or
mixed-colored colonists to favor a Calderun even with a glance.
On the contrary, in the houses lying along the road, the dogs
are trained to attack the Indios. True, these dogs are all undernourished
and generally very cowardly. The Paez man need only
raise his machete or a club in order to ward off the dog. We
were the first whites who did something completely out of the
ordinary in that we were always friendly, without any mental
reservations, and always greeted them first, in their language.
And this not only in Calderas, but also in Inzá and on the roads
to the market. This friendliness was taken in good part on all
sides. Then later, after we were able to show and to give them
the first photographs of themselves, they were definitely pleased
to be photographed and now and then offered us an egg or a bowl
of chicha /see the glossary, p. 248/ when we photographed them.

/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

114 Since I did not take any anthropological measurements 141 among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

14 From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 27?/). They are unable to lift large loads. [482] A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail [481] generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

141 In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight, 142 and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman
with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse
[302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The
beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp.
265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either
to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second
year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances --
quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and
[132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous
[362] victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can
[262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from
[273] which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously,
is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during
[854] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given
[262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

/113/

75 Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

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648 The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

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II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

361 Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception,
with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains,
where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields
[157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by
no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals,
but he does not like to live closely confined in a village
and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers
to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his
animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the
fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear
that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly
and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries
their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for
the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come
for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become
acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342 423] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social
center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his
fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs
to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient
quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find
ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain
ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property
after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community
487 [481] house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are
connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by
means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the
Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always
one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between
the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to
the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more
recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious
authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

361 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez,
there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./
361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and,
more recently, mission station and school are the central pole,
whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but
on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During
the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will
not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses
with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San
Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in
question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over
the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow
down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the
valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water").
When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the
water is led from above through a small ditch past the house.
This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then
urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was
assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build
their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough *chicha* and food to feed the friends who will help
them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./

596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ō̆pyat (ō̆p = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and [345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the 342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones, 407 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not 249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have 352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it 343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat) 342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and [341] the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com- 273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the 251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/116 cont./

343 In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have
[574] separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be,
[513] two storehouses or a small house (yatléčkwe) in which friends
and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the
251 joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the
343 storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize
[262] and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca,
potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all,
but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately.
Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters
long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize
and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For
this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over
which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks
[125] laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks,
too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite
high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them.
[231] In addition, a cat (mĭš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is
available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community
land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabĩldeyát),
and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147
/see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed
houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the
colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and
outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied
horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled
with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The
filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and
[373] out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and
the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side
by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of
solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening
of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

/117 cont./

342 Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he
761 wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-
783 mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask
[756] the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in
the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the
[773] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily
[628] cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain
"pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept
761 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the
783 pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living
123 above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the
761 building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground;
783 rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman
756 in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his
787 wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./
342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
[461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátšínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyǔ́sa éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitç) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoét" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkǎ̄č" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./
574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house,
although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board
which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the doorframe. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (ĩnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not
pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set
[249] next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger
part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-
[404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case
596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-
342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the
354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married
596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has the simplest possible form.

000 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
[513] sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[177] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
132 from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
[513] the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely,
the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by
striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching
the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan
this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50
centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which
thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same
[286] knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka)
are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller
hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the
floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one
meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá 'tç) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p.253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives,
needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands
only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person
has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the pšáñga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house
in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are
driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters
and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and
twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing
over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks
placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched
tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154
/see pp. 274 and 268 /).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the
houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a
place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never ex-
perienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating
habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the
habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth
with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and
lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of
chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton
cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even
in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted
their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with
stamps,

/123 cont./

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment,
linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in
Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited
291 straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the
294 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made
286 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note-
177 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven
[462] fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-
Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter"
to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of
the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into con-
296 sideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method
of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women
with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of
[462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the
materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them
themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the
purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always
repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.
296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-
177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned,
462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter
men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondatc;
for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper
garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

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291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atç) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that
286 of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytől) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatç) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tốpo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over
the ipotsatç; they either weave one (senyatç) for themselves or
[854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying
babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored
belt (tấw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see
p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any spe-
cial clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only
[293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the
[177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either
items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary gar-
[764] ments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of
[177] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians.

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/125 cont./

291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays. 439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wáča = bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kaseñandgnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/126 cont./
433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts,
mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
191 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most important cultivated plant and the basic food of the American
114 peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (*Zea mays tunicata*) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

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Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are treeless, uninhabited grassland.

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O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous cultivation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually

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15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

C /128 cont./

311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
e cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
e deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
p so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
p every spot on the landscape.

241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
p simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
p valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
241 p abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[312] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain
brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running
water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or
terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/128 cont./
241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest
continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I
was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not re-
quired for one family and that the owner would use this large
[433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live,
so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters,
[244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every
house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in
area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/,
cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only
476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men.
464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one
[462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons
help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served
food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in
241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first
the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters
are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as
they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one
has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches
are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field
again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less
than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few
days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on
[515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez,
by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only
time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards
(Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection
417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the
unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick
poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining
branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a
good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched
tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (afi) (Ill. 168 /see
p. 274/).

000 /129 cont./
351 p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction
417 generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms.
In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as
cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a
regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into
[824] the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized
Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate
for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the
vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal
parts.

241 The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick cultivation
412 (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown.
The house gardens, only recently laid out after the
model of the colonists and in which European plants such as
cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over
with the spade (pála). The digging stick (āty) consists merely of
a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with
243 a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize
may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in
April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate,
making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction
with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels
into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little
earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily."
The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After
half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period
is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently
large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half
[262] year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young
maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only
later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or
women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and
break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

249 Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in
[243] Calderas, sugar cane (nyúsa) thrives only in the lower, protected
localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/130 cont./
249 three years is very long. Shoots from old sugar-cane plants are
used as slips, which are set out by the men in the same way as
the maize kernels. A hole is made in the ground with the
digging stick at one-meter intervals in every direction from the
neighboring plant; the slip is stuck into it and pressed firmly with
[462] the hands. The cane is harvested by men or women. Both know
[482] how to handle the machete. The men carry the sugar cane home
over their shoulders (Ill. 173 /see p.277 /). women stuff the
sugar cane into the fiber bags and hang them over their backs,
holding the carrying band with their foreheads.

244 Besides maize and sugar cane, the bean (ōs) is of great im-
[262] portance for the Paez diet. There are the large, speckled so-
called "sow beans" /broad beans/ (Spanish frijol) and the smaller,
white beans. /131/ The former are for the most part eaten,
whereas the white beans are usually sold. They are sowed either in
the vicinity of the house at the foot of trees and shrubs, with three
beans always stuck into the ground at a time, or together with
maize. In this case, during the maize sowing, three to four beans
are put in the same hole with the six to eight maize kernels. In
growing simultaneously the beans climb up the maize stalks.

243 Wheat (skótc̣) is not of importance in the diet of the Paez,
[262] for no bread is baked. Nevertheless it is very often planted because
it grows fast and thus represents a suitable item for the Paez to sell.
243 If anyone has to buy something, be it fabric for a pair of trousers,
434 a machete, a metal pot, etc., he sows wheat, usually in March/
April, and after half a year he can already pocket profit from the
sale. It is characteristic of the Paez, however, that they make
use of this only when they need something urgently, but not in
243 advance so as to have money on hand in any case. The preparation
for wheat sowing is done in the customary manner of clearing by
burning. The sower hangs around himself a fiber bag containing
the seed grain and, in exactly the same fashion as our sower, starts
to broadcast the wheat with his hand in a wide arc. Subsequently
the ground is superficially turned over with the shovel, so that the
birds cannot pick up the grains. In harvesting it a bundle of stalks
is grasped a good hand's breadth under the ears and cut off with the

/131 cont./
243 other hand by means of the semicircularly curved sickle. In case [251] the wheat is not sold immediately, the bundles of ears are tied together and stored under the house roof, above the fire area. Whereas the kernels are shelled off the maize ears by hand by the [237] women as needed, the wheat is threshed. For this purpose a cowhide is put on the floor, a bundle of wheat ears is held securely on the hide with one hand, and with the other hand the ears are beaten with a club until the grains are removed.

244 The other produce used in the diet is planted in the house garden, which likewise is used every year as long as the house is occupied. The yield is generally good because the Paez have learned from the colonists the importance of regular fertilization. Each harvested plot is carefully dug up again with the spade and strewed with the refuse from the house and the collected manure of the cows and horses. Human excrement is not used; it is "too ugly." Everyday, in addition, the kitchen refuse (maize and bean husks, banana peels, arracacha and yuca scraps), as well as the excrement /132/ of the guinea pigs (fits) kept in the kitchen, is scattered in the garden and tossed on the vegetable plots.

The most important garden plant is white cabbage (kṓlis). The women buy the small plants from a woman in the village who raises them from seed. The planting time is March, when the rainy season begins. Potatoes (ká 'ka) are seldom planted. They are very small, have a yellow flesh, and are of poor quality. Sowing time is whenever one wishes. The men make a small hole with the digging stick and put one or two small potatoes in it and carefully cover up the hole again. After a month one can already hill them with the hands, and after four months, harvest them. To do this, the entire family digs them out with their [821] hands. Arracacha (ā̆'s) may likewise be planted throughout the year, but yields the best harvest if it is planted with the full moon. In harvesting it a digging stick is used. Yuca (ānya) is seldom eaten, for the climate is too cold to grow it in Calderas. In the lower villages the ripening period is two years.

245 A very important crop that plays a great role in the diet [262] of the Paez is the banana, which was not native to America originally (Schweinfurt, pp. 504 f.). Two large groups are

/132 cont./
245 differentiated: that of the fruit or sugar bananas, and that of the vegetable or mealy bananas. Both kinds are known to the Paez, to be sure, but only the vegetable bananas (toló), whose starchy fruits must be cooked first before being eaten, like potatoes, because they are difficult to digest, are important for them, as for all tropical peoples. The fruit bananas (gnayoíts), the only bananas eaten in Europe, are seldom eaten by the Paez and generally are not cultivated. They are planted by means of slips, which in Calderas bear from the third year on and yield harvests
244 for many years. Other crops grown in the house garden and eaten from time to time are cucumbers (kambíč or pína, according to the species), squash (pete), and the wild granadilla (šlãl).

b) Food Preparation

264 The Paez eat only two meals a day, the first one (kosē oń) about four or five o'clock in the morning before work, and the second (fi'nz on̊) at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, after returning from work in the fields. In between, that is, while working on the often quite distant fields, coca /133/ is taken and sugar-cane juice drunk every two to three hours. The morning and evening meals do not differ in content and vary
252 little from day to day. They are cooked without meat, without
262 fat, without salt, as well as without any other seasoning. Cook-
[263] ing with fat is customary only on festive days in the festival house.
[237] On this occasion a blood sausage is made from the blood of cattle, sheep, or pigs, for which the intestines are cleaned and then cooked with blood, salt, onions, and caraway, as well as with another herb (pléo). Meat is not put into the intestines, and likewise no fat.

262 There is no desire for greater variety in food and drink. I was scarcely able to discover any individual differences in taste among the Calderun, for everyone eats everything, and they all regard beans or cabbage or both together as the best food and bean leaves as the worst.

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The [415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one. [263] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a [353] small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 262 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and [415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 276 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /134 cont./

276 Coca (es) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing
137 cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used
as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly
among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species
of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America
(Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between
the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that
generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a
temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a
climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable ele-
P vation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

279 The word coca comes from the Kechua /Quechua/ lan-
guage (*coca* or *cuca*), which, however, does not state anything
192 definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechua-
171 speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the
plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America
the designation *hayo*, *hahiu* is customary, in northeastern Peru
ebee, *hibia*, *hibio*, and in the Amazon region generally, names
P like *ypadu*, *ypatu*, *ipado*, or *batu* (Bühler, p. 3344).

175 The first information about coca reached Europe as early
276 as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to
his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the
northern coast of South America used a plant called *hayo* as a
means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultiva-
tion and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by
Pedro de Ciéza de León, who for the first time calls attention to
the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away
P hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia
276 among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near
171 Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and
P C among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the
276 use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its
C harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale
656 of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

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C /134 cont./
276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing
coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction
ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings
(Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition
against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced
in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one
cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the
Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one
sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during
every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength,
and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The
shamans are an exception, see below.)

P
276 The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
P boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
[887] their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin
somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily
and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men
take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts
about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking
the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one
P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane
juice (nyũšayumĩl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash
with one to two liters of it with him.

P
276 The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
249 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
[137] lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost
every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after planting,
P are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look
for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few
stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned
fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his
pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while,
until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the
tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press
the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and
sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers
take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and
index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The
green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in
the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker
is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking
of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C
/136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[756] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
[755] cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
ruptedly.

P
273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
ing in order to ferment.

P
[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumîl

/137 cont./
273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any
case have anything in common with the name for fermented
chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane;
nyúša also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and
harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed
[407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or
inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way
[273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has
[431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and
249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see
407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists
of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form
the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into
the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses
that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing
cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal
parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction.
Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened
to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest.
Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with
human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are
moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but
are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above
each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide
the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies
a rectangular board (tablón) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves,
[492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If
a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up
with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly
of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is
customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/138 cont./

249 In *chicha* production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then
relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their
children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this
physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (*swéla*) and a foxtail saw (*serúčo*)
the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed.
The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in
the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped
horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge
(*regla*), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances be-
tween the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously
heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough
(*kánoa*) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a
little *chicha* to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred
up with the old *chicha* in the trough, the *kánoa* is covered with
banana leaves, and already the next morning the *chicha* is ready
to be drunk. As time goes on the *chicha* becomes ever stronger
in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong
enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/
some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not
done, the *chicha* is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice
added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five
days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets"
among the Paez, however, who let the *chicha* go on fermenting,
untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp
and sour.

/139 cont./

273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/140/

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[492] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
[237] too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste̱, mare = himbaóite̱) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, peo-
ple have them only to have them and to be considered rich.
They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as
beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the
markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are
accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the moun-
tains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are
on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would
not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through in-
breeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable
that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation.
How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is
there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything
about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds
out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times
are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castra-
tion of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now
and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist --
cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/140 cont./

231 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez
439 is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable
that they place importance above all on the possession of mares.
The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would
be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again
gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all
too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá;
steer = toló, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed
(black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and
usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover,
on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are
almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the
cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally
231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is
[262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have
[272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest
possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf
would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a
particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or
uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well
[431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no
special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no
one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or
[552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or
pet names are not used.

233 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses
422 graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40
231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion
[554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three
rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses
each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs,
and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there.
[241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors;
they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated
fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used,
which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first
initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be
bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts
in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or
a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the
same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (píša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under
"Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231
[422] are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
enough of them so that every family can own one, only about
every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they
roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage
for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced
fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their
necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas
for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of
arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs,
which must then forage for them. Chickens (ắtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with
maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To
feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number
does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the
kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say,
[262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīš) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the
[235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are
[262] greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (či'nç) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí'nç mil) is dark brown,
[237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí'nç) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/

e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez.
[433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting
[231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the
[776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gĕlyómp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./
224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a healing
[752] remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gĕlyómp spirit, but the
776 other men were, for gĕlyómp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become
quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves
224 be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gĕlyómp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šũ and ǩáyuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

000 have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.
224 In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the
776 very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the
841 hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke
783 the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire
hunting party.

224 The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs,
[411] without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters
are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a
caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron.
Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a
spark from the flintlock.

223 There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp
224 angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this
does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting,
however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed
to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed
skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center
gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in
hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the
roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three,
five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the
532 house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once
776 did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's
height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human
figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the
head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /). The eyes are represented by
circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle.
The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on
the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two
bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a
similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to
indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of
[224] the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil,"
/145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is,
of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

/145 cont./

532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on
by almost all Paez families with the net (ŏka), as well as with
the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters
wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in
the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain
chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed
birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place,
fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the
[237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching
consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyắkiwez; nyắk =
to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a
[857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns
to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy --
for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting --
224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way
with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses
where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with
[283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyắnsyuts) consists of
twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone
as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait.
[462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic
of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total
of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them,
which means that this part of the world leads all the continents
in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 824 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as community fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yũkse or kẽse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 [726] The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's [524] playthings there are the stone-sling (ĩsot), blowgun (pĩt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

[824] [714] [237] [124] [75] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use 714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[777] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
773 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

/147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
411 is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[462] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[157] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is
[223] burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[224] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
[211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro,
824 and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p. 279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 Men and women employ different techniques to obtain
[462] thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread
with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin
the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the
spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among
the South American natives, depending on the shape of the
[114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v.
[171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/
methods, according to their characteristic occurrence.
The first method is the older culture-historically. In this
case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and
the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the
spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the
lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between
the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter
part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main
[171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/148 cont./
283 of spindle lies east of the Andes, in Mojos and in eastern Ecuador.
171 The Bakaïri spindle, also designated as the "Andean drop spindle,"
is characterized by a conical thickening at its lower end. The
whorl is slipped onto the spindle staff from above and cannot slide
off, since by the Bakaïri method spinning is done only in a vertical
position. The upper end of the spindle is often provided with a
notch or a hook. In principle the thread is formed at the upper,
longer end of the spindle shaft, in other words, exactly the opposite
of the Bororo spindle. The area of distribution of the
Bakaïri type is a very large one; it occurs throughout the Andean
area, as well as in the Venezuelan and Brazilian forest region.

283 The spindles of the Paez (wágat; as wool spindle: káswagat)
and their spinning methods cannot be said to belong strictly to
either the Bororo or the Bakaïri type, since they contain elements
of both. The unadorned spindle shaft is uniformly about three
millimeters thick, the whorl (nyít) may either be absent or is
slipped on very artlessly in the form of a crudely carved, discus-shaped
[824] bone or wood disk. Not infrequently a piece of an ear
of maize, a potato, or a bean pod will serve as a whorl substitute.
The spindle is held in different ways. It may hang down
free perpendicularly, with the tip in perpendicular position resting
on a support (upper thigh), or it is held horizontally in the
air or even with the lower part upward /149/ (Ills. 179 to 180
/see p. 280 /). The position of the spindle does not depend on
whether agave fiber or wool is spun, but rather it seems to be
[171] arbitrary. Whereas these characteristics point to Bakaïri spinning,
at least insofar as the spindle is held downward without support,
the way the thread is made and its being wound temporarily on
the lower, shorter part of the spindle are characteristic of Bororo
spinning, although its typical fork-shaped support, with the
spindle held horizontally, is absent here. Among the Paez, the
spindle is worked with the right hand. The left plucks the fibers
and forms the thread. The women can sit, stand, or walk during
this. Insofar as it is a matter of working with sheep wool,
the women are in the habit of spinning it chiefly on the way to the

/149 cont./

283 market or on other errands; when spinning agave fibers, they
sit in front of the beam around which the fibers have been tied to
dry.

[236] Sheep wool (kas) is roughly cleaned and for spinning is wound,
unwashed, around a rod (Ill. 179 /see p.280 /). The latter is
60-150 centimeters long and is gripped under the arm by its
lower part. On its upper part it has a notch in which is fastened
a string to wind around the wool and hold it on the rod. To prevent
it from drying out too much, which would make spinning
difficult, it is protected by being wrapped in leaves or by a
cloth.

After several meters of thread have been spun and wound on
the lower part of the spindle, it is removed from there and wound
on the upper part. In this wound form, that is, still on the spindle
staff, the thread, after the removal of the whorl, may be used as
[286] a shuttle in weaving garments. For weaving the colored belts
of the women, however, and for making the wool coca bags,
not the simple, but the twisted wool thread is used. The agave
threads are even twisted on principle for every type of use. For
this purpose two single threads are twisted into a double thread
283 in a rotating direction counter to the spinning direction. This
462 process is carried out differently by men and women. The
former twist either with the hand on the upper thigh or use a
special instrument, the klaffca, with which the strongest ropes
are also made, whereas the women use the spindle even for
twisting. The direction of rotation of the twisted thread is different
for men and women. Depending on the material, the
former use the Z-twist in their handwork, the women the S-twist
in their work with the spindle. In the twisting or ropemaking
with the klaffca done by the men, the S-rotation prevails. (For
indicating the /150/ direction of rotation according to these two
letters, the direction of the front, diagonal part of the vertically
held thread, which runs parallel to the middle part of an S or Z,
is the determining factor [Fig. 34 /see p. 256/].)

/150 cont./

283 To twist the thread, the women remove the spun thread from the spindle, after they have slipped off the freely movable spinning whorl at the bottom, then grasp it in the center, and, in a loop, again put it on the spindle. Then the thread, taken doubled in this way, is twisted with the right hand, while it is disentangled and guided with three fingers of the left hand (Ill. 180 /see p. 280 /). Here, too, a smaller piece is always first twisted onto the lower, smaller part of the spindle and only later wound on the longer, upper part.

b) Ropemaking

[462] The making of ropes is men's work. True, there is also a type of rope of agave fiber that is made by women (*tāpe*), but these ropes are plaited in the form of a threefold braid out of three strands and are therefore plaited work. Two-strand ropes of agave fiber (*mémwez*) of optional length are made with the same technique as the thin, twisted agave strings. For this the *klaffca* (from the Spanish *clavicula*?) is used, a lancet-shaped, flat piece of wood about 15 centimeters long, which has notching at one end and a round perforation below it (Fig. 26 /see p. 253 /). Through the latter a stick of equal length is inserted horizontally, one end of which shows a thickening which prevents the piece of wood from sliding off. Around the notching, the middle part of a hand-twisted thread is fastened, and then the piece of wood is made to rotate. The longer part, because of its noncentric perforation, acts as a flywheel mass. In turning, the thread fastened to it is twisted. For this work, of course, a helper is required to hold the other end of the thread or rope. Three-strand ropes (*láso*) may also be made by the *klaffca*. For this purpose the three tips of the three twined agave-strands are tied to the notching of the *klaffca*, and the instrument is then turned in the same manner. A helper takes care of the uniform twist and uniform strength of the rope. A lasso of horsehair (*séltas*), as a three-strand rope, is also made with the *klaffca* following to the method described. The individual strands are previously turned by hand, then twisted,

/150 cont./

283 and, as the third step in the work, the extraordinarily strong rope about one centimeter in diameter is produced. /151/The Lassos

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283 (kádya) cut spirally from cowhide as leather strips are also twisted with the klaffca. The prerequisite is that the skin be worked in a fresh or wet state. If, after twisting, it is stretched out for a while to dry, it will keep its spiral twist. It will lose it, however, if it is pulled too hard or becomes too wet.

c) Net Techniques

286 In describing the net techniques of the Paez, I should like to distinguish between the loop technique /Schlingtechnik/ and the knot technique /Knotentechnik/. Among the articles made by the loop technique are the carrying bags of agave fiber (called "fiber bags" in the following) and the wool coca pouches; among those made by the knot technique are bird nets, hammocks, berry sieves, and slings. Agave fiber or sheep wool, both in the form of twisted threads, serves as the material.

The loop technique is used, for example, in knitting and crocheting in our European culture-circle, and, to be sure, with the technique of intertwining /Verschlingen/. The simplicity of this method of work stands in contrast to the disagreeable attendant phenomenon that the entire fabric can be destroyed by pulling one thread. The loop technique of the Paez in producing cloth is fundamentally different. It consists of the technique of simple insertion /Einhängen/. Purely as a matter of form it should be noted that neither needle nor crochet hook nor any other object is used to carry it out; rather, everything is done with the hands.

In order to connect the loops one must draw the thread in its entire length through each individual loop. Since with this technique the supply of thread in the form of a thick ball would not pass through the loops, or only with great difficulty, another way of arranging the thread supply had to be thought up. The Paez succeeded in doing this in a very clever way; they were even able to devise a serviceable substitute for a needle from the same material (Ill. 183 /see p.282 /). The thread to be worked in, wool

/151 cont./

286 or agave fiber, is folded over upon itself several times, slightly twisted, and then tied together in the center with a simple thread. The latter is knotted several times in such a way that it runs out into a point which at the same time serves as a plaiting needle. This folded thread supply, which is up to four meters long and six to eight millimeters thick, may easily be passed through each loop of the fiber bag. When a length of the thread is used up, /152/ a loop of the thread supply may promptly be pulled through the "eye" of the "needle," and this continues until the supply is used up.

[461] The method of making the fiber bag and the wool coca pouch is fundamentally the same. The work period lasts two to six weeks. In the case of the fiber bag (*yáha*), the largest of which may measure more than a meter in height and width, a small bottom is plaited first, from which the bag is worked, bell-shaped, in several sections up to the rim. At the start of this process, between the thumb and ring finger for the one part and between the index and middle finger for the other part, there is stretched a short piece of thread, around which the continuation of the thread is wound loosely and spirally in loops. This produces the first row of meshes (Fig. 30 /see p. 255/). The following length of thread is now again drawn back through these, so that it loosely catches the previously formed loops. Proceeding in this fashion, when the rectangular bottom has been made to a size of about two by five centimeters, one starts at a corner of it with the first section. Here, too, as in the entire plaiting, the thread continues in the same technique. In order to enlarge the bag, as many additional rows are interlaced in each loop of the bottom as are desired to widen the bag.

At the end of the work a broad row of holes is worked into the bag three loops below its upper rim, and this serves for fastening the carrying band. This band terminates in loops at both ends, conditioned by the method of weaving (see below). For fastening, the first loop of the band is drawn through a rim eyelet from the inside and put first around the top toward the back. Then the second loop is drawn down through the first loop and only then back again through the eyelet of the bag toward the top-back as before. The last loop of the band is knotted with

/152 cont./

286 the beginning or end warp thread of the carrying band in an eyelet of the bag.

The making of the woolen coca pouch (kwatandyáha), literally "lime pouch," the size of which varies between 12 and 35 centimeters, is done in the same technique as the manufacture of the fiber bags. 286 531 The process, after the bottom is made, is done in three sections, the middle one of which stands out externally because of its colored, chessboard-like pattern, which is bordered above and below by a row of triangles. Since this colored section is likewise plaited from the bottom to the upper rim, thread of a different color is required for each change of color. These threads of a different color are twisted into ropes in the same way as in the case of the fiber bags and held together with a wool thread which serves as a plaiting needle. The number of /153/ colored squares in the unit area is constant, and their arrangement, conditioned by the plaiting, is necessarily diagonal (Ills. 154 /see p. 268 / and 203 /see p. 290 /).

286 The fastening of the carrying band, made by plait-weaving (see below /see p. 85 /), to the coca bag is done in the same way as that of the carrying band of the fiber bag.

The fabrics made by the knot technique are generally wide-meshed and include primarily the various kinds of nets. The knots are formed by tightly pulling suitable loops or interlacings so that the more or less loose meshes cannot shift. To obtain uniform meshes, the bird nets (ōka) and hammocks of the Paez are worked with a mesh stick whose height of about five centimeters corresponds to the size of the mesh (Fig. 31 /see p. 255 /). The material is the twisted agave thread. To make the net -- and the hammock -- the loops of the rows of meshes are made by means of the "symmetrical knot" (Fig. 34c /see p. 256 /). For this the ascending thread travels from back to front over the open part of the mesh and, passing over the latter horizontally, runs downward again in the loop produced. The mesh stick is always pressed from below firmly against the row of knots above, whereby the new knots bind it in tightly on its underside. This produces perfectly uniform meshes. The dimensions of the bird net -- spread out -- may reach a size of five by 20 meters.

/153 cont./

286 [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

283 The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/154 cont./

284 286 reinforcement is found at the other end of the net in the transition to the braid part. The further procedure up to the completion of the sling corresponds to the beginning. At one end a sliding loop is tied by means of a knot, which, when the sling is used, is drawn over the middle finger.

d) Plaiting

283 285 The technique of plaiting is practiced among the Paez only in plaiting bands for making straw hats (šwá) and for making three-strand ropes. The latter are plaited by the women in various lengths and strengths from agave fibers in the normal form of the three-strand braid. There are no plaited baskets, sieves, fans, bands, etc. of any kind among the Paez.

294 285 The shape of the Paez hats seems to imitate those of the whites. It is the same for men, women, and children. They are made only by the men. The dry leaves of the šyēts reed, which are first torn into strips about one centimeter wide, serve as material. To be worked up they are then divided once more by being torn lengthwise into five to ten narrow strips from one to two millimeters wide. The quality and value of the hat depends on the fineness of these strips, for the finer the plaiting strips are the more waterproof and durable the hat is. It /155/ is made from a single plaited band (čemŏ́tč) sewed together in spirals -- starting from the center of the hat.

The plaiting of the band is done without any aids, in the form of diagonal plaiting with 11 strips (Fig. 33 /see p.256 /). At the start of the work they are bent in the middle and thus used double in such a way that the upper side of the reed leaf is on the outside. The second strip is inserted into this initial bend at right angles and likewise bent. This is done alternately until all 11 strips have been worked into a band approximately six to ten millimeters wide. The further plaiting work is continued with the double strips. For this the first double strip is always bent from the outside downward toward the center, in order to be drawn over the second, under the third and fourth, and over the fifth and sixth.

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294 285 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 286 114 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform. In the literature written in English the two are generally not differentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñšāpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

/156 cont./

286 centimeters in width. Two rods corresponding to the breast beam and warp beam (pšātegwe) for the vertically stretched warp threads (yáhawes) are tied horizontally to the forked frame with bark bast (Fig. 35 /see p. 257/).

For weaving by the method used by the Paez, a special warping device, which otherwise, in weaving with a spiral warp, is required in some form for the preparatory stretching of the warp threads, becomes superfluous. The Paez weaving is done neither according to the method of the continuous circular warp nor according to the method of the terminating flat warp, but constitutes a mixture of both in the form of the so-called "false spiral warp." The warp threads run circularly around the breast and warp beams and form two planes, one below and one above the beams. They are not, however, stretched spirally, but like a parallel warp. They are fastened by means of a small horizontal stick around which the first warp thread is wound with a loop. This then runs all the way around the frame to the horizontal stick again, passing over the latter from back to front, and going back again around the frame in the opposite direction. Alternating in this fashion, all the warp threads are stretched to the desired width. After the last warp thread has passed around the horizontal stick, it is knotted and immediately used as the first weft thread.

The weaving is done according to the method of the simple rod weaving. The texture is always the texture of linen. Instead of a regular shed rod and heddle rod, loops of bast or agave fiber constitute the aids for the mechanical shed formation. The shed loop (batsnés) grasps warp threads 1, 3, 5, 7, etc. together; the heddle loops (nyúgwe) grasp the warp threads of the even numbers singly in one long loop each, and they in turn are tied together at the top. The mechanical shed formation is done by alternately raising the shed loops and the heddle loops (Ill. 182 /see p. 281/).

[824] The shuttle (bánka) consists merely of a wound ball of thread; the sword (kyíta) is carved from the hard wood of the chonta palm pointed at both ends, and semicircular in cross-section.

As a result of the way they are stretched, the warp threads in /157/ their entirety may be drawn around the horizontally lashed tension rods during the weaving, so that the piece being woven

/157 cont./

286 always lies conveniently in front of the woman for the weft. The beginning and end of the woven part start at a distance of about three centimeters from the horizontal stick. At the end the last weft thread is knotted at the edge of the warp. When the stick is pulled out, the band comes off the frame. Since the warp threads terminate in loops, the texture of the band cannot become slack.

2. Weaving Apparatus for Cloth

286 The weaving of cloth of larger dimensions for clothing is
294 also done in the technique of the linen texture and according to
the same method as the weaving of the carrying bands for the
[581] fiber bags. Every woman can do both, for she herself must be
able to make all the material needed by her family for clothing;
otherwise a girl has no prospect of getting married.

The weaving apparatus stands upright and consists of two strong posts which are rammed into the ground about two meters apart in front of the house, but still in the shelter of the roof. Into each of these posts, a little above the ground, a notch is cut, into which the breast beam is placed horizontally and lashed. Its position with respect to height is unchangeable. The warp beam, likewise horizontal, may be lashed to the vertical post with ropes higher or lower, depending on the length of the cloth to be woven, whereby a uniform tension of the warp threads is achieved.

The non-twisted woolen warp threads are stretched in the
same way as in the case of the carrying bands for the fiber bags.
The width is determined by the piece of material to be woven.
[461] The work period for a woman's skirt takes a total of about six
months. In order to attain a certain decorative effect in the finished piece, between the uncolored sheep-wool warp-threads are stretched likewise uncolored or differently colored cotton threads which, in the subsequent dyeing process with plant dyes, do not take on this coloring.

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The shed rod consists of a round, straight wooden rod. The heddle loops are held by a horizontally stretched string immovable in height, which is tied left and right to the two vertical posts of the weaving apparatus. The sword is semicircular in cross-section, pointed at both ends, and carved out of the dark, hard wood of the chonta palm. Its width is /158/ three to four centimeters, its length about 60 centimeters. The shuttle consists of a rod on which the thread is wound crosswise. Sometimes the spindle with the spun thread is used for this.

Making the shed for the insertion of the shuttle is laborious, for -- depending on the width of the piece to be woven -- not all the corresponding warp threads can be pulled forward simultaneously with the heddle loops. The woman doing the weaving is able to grasp only about half a dozen heddle loops at a time with one hand and pull them forward, in order to push along the sword slowly and form the shed. Even before the shed has reached the width of a sword length, the shuttle must already be pushed along, so that the weft can only be carried through in stages, as it were, with the shed formed by the heddle loops (Ill. 181 /see p. 281/). The shed formation with the wooden shed rod is essentially simpler, since the latter may easily be drawn forward to form the countershed and the heddle loops yield.

The beginning and end of the woven material are determined by the width of the only thin cross-rod, since at the end the shed rod is drawn out and the cross-rod takes on its function. In the loops left at the beginning and end, weft threads are drawn through by hand in the same form of the plain linen texture, until the loops are filled out. The last weft thread in each case is taken threefold so that a firm selvage is produced.

3. Weaving Apparatus for Women's Belts

Originally every woman was able to weave the women's belts [463] (táw), the most difficult type of weaving among the Paez. Today it is almost a specialist's work, for in Calderas there are only five women left who are able to weave the women's belts themselves.

/158 cont./

286 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small in-
294 dustry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost
438 exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is
463 in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter,
about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to
weave belts.

286 The weaving apparatus (tawkyáviton̊) is fundamentally the
294 same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-
shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

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286 for which only certain red threads are used, the weaver counts 294 the required number and holds these up for the time being with a special shed rod consisting of a small piece of reed. The red warp threads not required fall down under and appear on the back side of the band, in part as a negative pattern and in part covered by the white warp threads.

[531] No patterns exist for the weaving designs. In general it is a matter of traditional forms -- human beings, rhombuses, triangles -- although imaginative women include Latin letters in their store of ornaments.

On account of the space required for the arrangement for the mechanical shed formation, the band terminates in loops about ten centimeters long, which are removed from the cross-rod and plaited circularly with four strips each.

f) Plait-weaving

286 Whereas the carrying bands of the fiber bags (yáha) are woven in the technique of rod weaving in linen texture, the wool carrying /160/ bands of the coca pouches (kwatandyáha) are made in the plait-weaving technique. This means textile techniques which are not weaving because of the lack of mechanical shed formation in the manufacturing, but which also do not represent plaiting because of the vertical and horizontal course of their threads. The bands are about 1.50 centimeters wide and 76 centimeters long. At a superficial glance they give the impression of being plaited freehand because of their thickness. Their thickness results, however, from the turning and simultaneous crossing of the warp threads in the plaiting (cf. Ill. 152 /see p. 267/).

To make the band a frame similar to the one for weaving the carrying band for the fiber bag is required. The warp threads are stretched in the same way; the beginning and end are fastened to a similar cross-stick. Warp and weft are perpendicular to each other, but there is no mechanical shed formation.

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For the plaiting process, which proceeds from the top down, there are stretched beside one another -- in their sequence -- four red warp threads, four white, four blue, four white, and again four red threads. At the start, two to three centimeters are woven in the customary linen texture. Then begins the plaiting of the band with the rhombus design. To do this, the weft, made up of one red thread, is drawn through two like-colored warp threads twisted one over the other. The twisting of the warp threads first goes in an inward direction; thus the right warp threads are twisted to the left, the left ones to the right, but always in a complete turn of 360°. Their sequence after the twisting is exactly as before. To form the rhombus design, the twisted warp threads are at the same time crossed under one another.

To lead back the weft threads, the still crossed warp threads are beaten from below upward with a pointed shed rod, usually the weaving sword, and the weft thread is led back through the opening thus made. This releases the twist of the warp threads. Now the position of the warp and weft threads once again corresponds to the normal linen texture.

To complete the rhombus, that is, to form the lower part, the warp threads are now reversed, twisted from the inside to the outside, and then one proceeds appropriately in the same manner as described.

The weft threads are pulled quite taut so that they disappear within the texture, and only the warp threads are to be seen. Their distance from one another -- conditioned by the twisted warp threads -- is relatively great.

/161/The decisive characteristic of this plait-weaving and its distinction from the weaving of the patterned belts of the women (táw) consists in the fact that the same patterns appear on the front and back side of the plaited band, though always shifted by half of their dimensions.

As variants of the simple rhombus pattern described, there may be two rhombuses next to each other or five small rhombuses in a diagonal arrangement. In this case the back side does not

/161 cont./

286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.
824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of
clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which,
however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized
by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into
the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in
the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for about two hours, along with the leaves of the šal tree or the zóte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the leaves of a Phyllanthus) and then buried for two days and two nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth (ašáktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly, and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and waterproof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing, which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the
desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market
in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their
stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton
purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making
women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/162/

386 824 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue - séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítç), with the leaves of the mũzeç tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítç) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting [531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor [415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tõka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 463 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others [437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./
463 apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos
323 Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an
[467] accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 At the three annual church festivals a large number of
[796] candles (*mbéla*; Spanish: *vela*) are used to decorate the church.
They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is
[462] familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals
[824] it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (*Myrica pubescens* Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 No celebration and no church festival is possible without
[796] setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The fire-
[541] crackers required for this are made by the men themselves.
[462]

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they
then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send
their children far away and do not let them go to the whites,
because they believe that the latter would catch them in order
to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koĕtes),
while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256/). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among
the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since
there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying
trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one
family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial
products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held
regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary
articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades,
machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/164 cont./
439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore,
every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces,
earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and
shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's
belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer
than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the
necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an
inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in under-
bidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an
[438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all
[797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village,
for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with
money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio.
437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al-
439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high --
[462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman
lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the
next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's
439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every
woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt
and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was
[101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá
a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the
tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá.
[184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/166 cont./
435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a
tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a
meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases
of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of
sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize
(one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilo-
grams). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the custom-
ary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the
market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market
prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are
about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar
cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one
peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity,
which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money
is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one
pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs.
The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá.
The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two
calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large
wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and con-
tain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle
of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the
barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full
of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by
the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro con-
tain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag
of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431]
[273] only given away.

/167 cont./

435 437 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for foodstuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's *ruana*; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten *tomín* of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for [185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own *chicha* to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 482 484 The goods are transported to the market by men and women, albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the
Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to
transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the
men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and
the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the
bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of
twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They
sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend
the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who
cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are
carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work,
which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting,
on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags
or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work
material with them in a second wool pouch.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and
are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home
district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone
who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this
[482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load
to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if
a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load,
and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered
are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés
to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about
[492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one
cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many
Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only
"without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be
traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads
491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel
auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Rio
Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to
Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less
mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists,
and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p. 249 /.
These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes
and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways
484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a
matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite
491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into
three groups, according to their construction. The simplest
type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side,
without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards
[825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed
to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/169 cont./

49/ rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even 49/ 499 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/). [284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath. 49/ Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors 177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the 499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in [175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

[114] * I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

/170 cont./
491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines
there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element
in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people.
Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must
swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method
of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs,
are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground
farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding
material. The footway held from above is made with split
bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched
bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both
shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and
strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the
glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time,
start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight,
lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and
the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With
one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo
poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the
bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people
(from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves
as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on
the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./
621/ tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly
independent from village to village and without a chief,
[628] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger
resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that
time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in
order to create clear relationships with respect to the white
landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially
the same, as one may see from the large number of old
native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village
management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times
of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called
caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ by the
Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The
Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the
heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the
political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war
leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary
chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find
among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities
of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength
according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most
nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness
of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish
themselves from others through personal achievement or
personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/172 cont./
623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation
tõtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente
as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see
the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in
Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, further-
more two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar,
as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa
Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a
comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a
gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario,
and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the
gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales,
three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil.
Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition
of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be
noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the
alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the func-
tionaries.

623 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village
554 rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of
power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations
and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions
of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge
building or the repair of the church, the school, or the com-
[626] munity house. While his regulations remain within the scope of
what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the
collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In
flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic
measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer
as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective
in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted,
however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily,
sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and
123 last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a
623 position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illus-
554 trated by the following example:/ One Saturday the gobernador

/172 cont./
123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following
Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that
he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a community
project for all the men of the village in clearing a field.
Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set
out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work
on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project
for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since
this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for
felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore,
the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but
on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has heretofore
123 been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very
favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was
extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the implement,
explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since
all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out
that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that
the work would not take place until a few days later. He could
not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in
addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would
treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to
placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before.
He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try
and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view
of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not

/173 cont./
123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the
[794] duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to deco-
rate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. Ac-
cording to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales
formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[175] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal
representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/174 cont./

624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a ceremony
623 for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
828 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the
culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were
asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year.
A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg,
pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the
lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason
given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony
on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never
hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose
themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old
cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly
for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection,
which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is
voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[556] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about
30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old
daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the
way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but
no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In
the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too
young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The
remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger
services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[696] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In
general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and
who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./
623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the
capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named
capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the
village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión
elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too auto-
cratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone
would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I
am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as
to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for
that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now
he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear
family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents
in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with
their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until
they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first.
The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and
then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the
parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle,
each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for
the wife is always responsible for the food. Men
do not cook.

/177 cont./

600 the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old,
589 solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or
591 friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to
protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

594 The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him
425 absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the
right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or
possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is
not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his
wife or his children's toys.

594 The children are given the family name of the father, but
[553] the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There
[551] is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for
[585] unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to
[291] work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she
[302] may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth
[425] [439] beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for
ornaments.

596 If the young people are still living in the house with their
606 parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to
her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from
the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence
is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually,
however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms,
and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both
families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women
share the work of cleaning the house.

581 Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners;
684 in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so
[623] seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband,
in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill)
both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty
party very soundly thrashed.

848 Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case
623 an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married
man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to
make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he
cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he
gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders
her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not
permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was
explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a
house in which several women live. This woman at the same time
cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman.
The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking
receive their meals from another female member of her family.
The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for
the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of
farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one
of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male
relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house
of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized
patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but
all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry,
even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back
only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano
Piñakuē, for example, may not only not marry any girls with
the patronymic Piñakuē, but also no girls whose mothers are
named Piñakuē. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

/178 cont./
614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members
furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter
of the village. The young men of this name do not always find
their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look
for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably
not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups,
that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live
dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot
marry each other because of their same name. They lack the
consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however.
Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor
[162] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of
[346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent
of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in
each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big
annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa
(Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The
other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part
in the festival houses of friends' families.

[551] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuẽ,
Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the godparents
602 (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their godparents
576 anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than
601 ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother
and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings
are striking. The designations for father and mother are
differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of
foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign
one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihí. It does
not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following
examples:

601 /179 cont./

my father	ãtç táta	my mother	atç máma
your father	inç táta	your mother	inç máma
his father	kyeç néi	his mother	kyeç nihí
our fathers	kweš táta	our mothers	kweš máma
their fathers	kyáñweš néi	their mothers	kyáñweš nihí

It is interesting that in address the foreign father or the foreign mother of the partner in conversation is called táta or máma, like one's own parents.

The relatives in the parents' generation, who correspond to our "uncles" and "aunts," are differentiated in address, /180/ depending on whether they are relatives in the maternal or paternal line. In the case of the female relatives in the maternal line the prefix "pe" is placed in front of the corresponding designations for the male relatives. It is also striking that for stepfather and stepmother no word combinations with "father" or "mother" are used, but rather the same words as for the father's brother and mother's sister, or the spouses of the father's sister or the mother's brother.

father's brother	nyok	father's sister	pétsots
mother's brother	ká'ka	mother's sister	pényok
stepfather	nyok	stepmother	pényok
father's sister's husband	nyok	mother's brother's wife	pényok
father-in-law	táta	mother-in-law	máma

[177] In the children's generation the absence of designations for nieces and nephews is noteworthy. For lack of specific Paez words and concepts, Spanish ones are used. It is possible that in pre-Spanish times the entire children's generation, either that of an extended family /Grossfamilie/ or at any rate that of the maternal or paternal line, was designated by the same name by members of the parents' generation in the manner of the "classificatory kinship

/180 cont./

60/ system." In contrast to our kinship system, which is based on the nearness of degree of blood relationship, according to the classificatory system not only one's own children are designated as "sons" or "daughters," but also those of the siblings. Correspondingly, the children -- in extreme cases -- likewise call the siblings of the parents, that is, their uncle and aunt, "father" or "mother."

The latter is not the case among the Paez, since they make a sharp distinction between the descendants of the paternal and maternal line. Within this, however, a tendency toward the classificatory system makes itself noticeable, first because of the aforementioned same name for stepfather or stepmother and father's sister's husband or mother's brother's wife, and, secondly, because of the distinction made on the basis of whether siblings are older or younger than the speaker.

The kinship designations for the children's generation are:

son, small	luč	daughter, small	luč
son, grown	ndyík	daughter, grown	nĩs
brother's son (man speaking)	sobríno	brother's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína

/181/

sister's son (man speaking)	sobríno	sister's daughter (woman speaking)	sobrína
sister's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	sister's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
brother's daughter (man speaking)	sobrína	brother's son (woman speaking)	sobríno
stepson	sobríno	stepdaughter	sobrína
son-in-law	nokwe̲bió	daughter-in-law	ndő
brother's daughter's husband	sobríno	sister's daughter's husband	sobríno
brother's son's wife	sobrína	sister's son's wife	sobrína

/181 cont./

601 Within one's own generation one distinguishes between older and younger brothers or sisters. In keeping with what was said about the classificatory kinship system, we have here, too, identical designations for male and female cousins and step-siblings -- differentiated according to the male or female line of the family.

brother (of husband)	yakté	sister (of wife)	yakté
brother (of wife)	nyiš	sister (of husband)	peš
older brother	yakté (nte = older)	older sister	peš nóite
younger brother (if other people speak of him)	yakté noč (noč = younger)	younger sister (if other people speak of her)	peš noč
if own brother or own sister speaks of the younger brothers	yakté npéi	if siblings speak of the younger sister	peš npéi
father's brother's son (*)	yakté	mother's brother's son (*)	yakté
father's brother's daughter (*)	peš	mother's brothers daughter (*)	peš
father's sister's son (*)	yakté	mother's sister's son (*)	yakté
father's sister's daughter (*)	peš	mother's sister's daughter (*)	peš

* These designations for male and female cousins apply only when they are addressing each other.

/181 cont./

60/ In addressing persons outside the family the following designations are used:

/182/

father's brother's son or mother's brother's son	pokatenyík
mother's brother's daughter or father's brother's daughter	pokatépěnyí (pokats = side)

stepbrother	yakté	stepsister	peí

The designations for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are the following:

If the brother speaks:

wife of the brother	ső'ov	husband of the sister	tsóom

If the sister speaks:

wife of the brother	tyínas	husband of the sister	ső'ov

More distant in-law relationships which in our kinship nomenclature are no longer distinguished as such are still taken into account by the Paez in the following instances:

father's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	father's sister's son's wife	ső'ov
mother's brother's daughter's husband	tsóom	mother's sister's son's wife	ső'ov

In the generation of the grandparents or grandchildren, the following terms are used:

father's father	ĩ́si	father's mother	péndyi
mother's father	ĩ́si	mother's mother	pěndyi
son's son	nzón	son's daughter	nzón
daughter's son	nzón	daughter's daughter	nzón

[192] The designations for persons at various age levels or circumstances of life are highly differentiated among the Paez; the

/182 cont./

601 mutual forms of address for certain groups of persons or of several
192 persons with certain kinship connections, which show that here the individual does not stand detached within the family, ,but is fitted in as part of a living structure, are noteworthy.

child or boy	luč
small child (boy or girl)	lučkwe
baby (boy or girl)	lučléčkwe
youth	pítstaty
man	pítste
married man (except when his own wife speaks of him)	iyō
old man	īš
widower	ečpits
girl	gnáskwe

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maiden	gnās
woman	ōi
somewhat older woman	óite
old woman	penš
widow	éčoi
pregnant woman	tóya
sterile woman	ema
married woman (except when her own husband is speaking of her)	imī
wife (of other men)	nyó
husband (of other women)	nemī
wife (addressed by husband)	íkwe
husband (addressed by wife)	í ngya
married couple	ovényi
orphan, half-orphan	váučo
relative (general)	nuevéš

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovényi or pĕtā̀m
father and son together (by other persons)	pĕndyīk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pěndyīk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pĕndyīs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] [825] [237] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great one

In general
842 /184 cont./ every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. Accord-
ing to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything
special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about
other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; how-
ever, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be
ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified
counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per
family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small
children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth.
The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must
sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be
very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant
woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before
the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same
reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it
comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant
woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative
cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
000 /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndŏsoknăs) is
fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She
[759] has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only
for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always
comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man
or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she
receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case
she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are
in the dŭyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands
she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the
dŭyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and
he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a
way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that
the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother
must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can
be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which
she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is
first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is
not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbilical
[824] cal cord (kolwăt) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread,
with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see
his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays
with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dŭyat. The
afterbirth (duyăha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried
near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not
be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but
not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth
until very late and only with great
difficulty.

/185 cont./
844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is
supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the
851 father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of
608 the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have
[797] it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint
[551] of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and
the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil
takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the godparents,
[783] and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The
[756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dúyat and has
washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by
the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents,
who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a
matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are
also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no
real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing,
the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion
beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing
[461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in
later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly admonish
848 his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict
hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though
as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father,
they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more
[426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they
[431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually
they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not
848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavorable
562 position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and
their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless
[583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not
[581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal
qualities.

/186 cont./

177 Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.

515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun,
which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults,
that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy,
etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next
one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond
that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a
child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother
should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the
market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child
with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not
have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman
may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If
she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself.
In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less
than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than
milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing
baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or
three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and
the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc),
in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back,
are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pīt), the
plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they
practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[23] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children,
and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/187 cont./

857 868 231 great. Handling it for catching cows or horses is regarded as sport, as, indeed, is animal-raising in general. The animals are not easy to catch, but must really be outwitted. To catch a cow, for example, the lasso-wielder, in the midst of a group of several men or youths, first runs behind a few other cows that are near the cow to be captured. The latter feels quite secure, since the shouting apparently does not apply to her. The men now drive the cows in such a way that they come close to the one being captured; then the lasso-thrower doubles back and throws the rope at a distance of only about three meters. In spite of the short distance, only about every third throw is successful.

524 Two boys' playthings, used with enthusiasm as a pastime of school children, are the top (čúnga) and the hole-ball (hé̱nde). The latter (Fig. 36 /see p. 258 /) is a hollowed-out fruit capsule about five centimeters in diameter, with a hole one centimeter in size on the underside. /188/ Exactly opposite this larger hole, a small one is bored. A twisted agave string about 20 centimeters long is drawn through the large and the small hole from below and knotted above the small hole so that it cannot slide out again. The other end of the string is knotted in the center of a small rod about 15 centimeters long, which is slightly smaller in diameter than the hole on the underside of the fruit capsule. In play the string of the capsule hangs down from the rod, half of which is grasped with one hand. With a gentle swing one now tosses upward the capsule attached to the string and tries to catch it with the rod. Beginners seldom or never hit the hole, whereas more practiced persons succeed many times in a row.

[522] The top consists of a small double-conical chunk of wood four to six centimeters high, which boys carve out for themselves and which ends in a small knob on the upper side. A small thorn is stuck into the tip on the underside. The top is set in motion with a string that ends in two loops. One of these is drawn over the middle finger of the hand, the other over the knob on the upper side of the top. From there it is led to the underside around the thorn and then wrapped spirally upward around the lower, conical part of the top. To set it in motion, the top is thrown on the plank floor of the school. The loop fastened to the middle finger

/188 cont./

524 causes the unwinding of the string and its revolving motion. The rule of the competition is to knock over the turning top with another turning one.

A simpler kind of top, which, like the hole game, is also called hénde, consists of a round seed capsule into which a vertical rod is inserted and protrudes about five centimeters. To set it in motion, a twisted string and a small board are required. One end of the string is wound spirally around the stem of the top and the other is knotted to the board and then pulled off.

526 [178] Besides these games, wrestling is greatly enjoyed by the boys. Youths and young men no longer wrestle. On the occasion of the festivals, however, when they have drunk a little, the young men hit each other on their bodies, with arm outstretched, with the hand or fist. Several of them form an irregular circle, but without taking sides, and each tries to hit the other from behind.

524 The girls play with dolls (lōčinyi) about 20 centimeters high, which they make themselves out of wood and remnants of cloth. It is remarkable that these dolls do not represent children, but adults fully dressed. /189/ A doll man, for example, consists of a forked stick, the longer part of which represents the body, and the forks, the legs. A cross-stick tied on indicates the shoulders. The clothing consists of a man's shirt, which is tied and "fitted" at the height of the hips with an agave string. A rectangular piece of cloth with a horizontal hole in the center is drawn over it as a ruana. A face is not indicated on either the male or the female doll. The doll woman consists of only a straight rod, around the lower part of which a piece of cloth is wrapped as a skirt and tied with a red thread as a belt. On her back the woman carries a child, represented by a small piece of wood wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is fastened around the child with a red thread in the way children are wrapped. The doll woman carries her child wrapped in the large shawl, which is held fast by a red thread which serves as the belt.

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build
a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities
as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times
[535] a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young
girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dúyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yãhalečkwe) about the size of a fist. There
are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that
she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets
the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows
that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who
happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag,
picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing
who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry
this girl.

/190/

c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their
traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were con-
verted to monogamy only through education on the part of the
missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house
of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/190 cont./ The girl
595 then helps with household tasks and the father of the house may
591 have children by her, without his marrying the girl -- today at
178 any rate -- as his second wife in a regular marriage ceremony.

584 If a young man wants to marry, he speaks -- in the normal case -- to his father, and the latter with the father of his chosen one. Courtship through a third person outside the family is not customary, and the relatives on the two sides do not enter into communication with one another and exchange presents until after the official wedding ceremony. As a rule, the two young people have reached an agreement earlier, before the fathers speak to each other. The consent of the girl, however, is not required, for the agreement of the young man with the two fathers is fully adequate, and in this case the girl is given in marriage
584 even against her will. But this is said to be the case very rarely
754 or never, for it is dangerous for a girl to refuse a young man's
539 proposal of marriage. In this case he would spit and utter the following curse: "Toblel (untranslatable), I wanted to marry you, but you did not want it; now you must die!" I told the men of Calderas that I doubted whether this curse could have any effect, but then I was told the story of the girl who did not want to marry
[832] a Paez. This girl was very beautiful. (By the way, only unmarried girls are called beautiful; a married woman is never described as beautiful.) She was slightly fat -- being thin is regarded as ugly -- was always washed clean and well combed, and wore beautiful necklaces and earrings, handsomely woven clothing, and an exquisite belt that she herself wove. Many young men of Calderas wanted to marry her, but she did not want to marry a Calderun, only a white. She therefore left her village to go to Popayán (the only larger, well-known city). She walked very fast. On the way, however, in the páramo (bordering mountains) there was a Pijao. He /191/ seized her and took her into his house alive. There he kindled a fire, killed her, and devoured her. By way of explanation the storyteller added: A girl who does not want to marry a Calderun but a white, because the Calderun men are not handsome enough, would, on the way to

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. Therefore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
754
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[684] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

/191 cont./
584 431 father, and the latter distributes it /192/ to everyone and gives the bringer and all those present some of his own chicha to drink. This continues all night until everyone is drunk. In the morning the daughter-in-law, along with her father-in-law, goes back to the house of the latter, and from then on she lives with her husband until the wedding.

606 585 In case the father of the girl should not be satisfied with the young man as a son-in-law, he would still not take any practical action against this union of his daughter, since he does not have to pay a dowry anyway. Besides, once children arrive, the [591] parents are always satisfied. If, conversely, the father of the young man is not satisfied with the latter's choice of a bride, he may refuse him his house. In this case the young people customarily immediately build their own house, a small one at first.

58 The wedding generally does not take place very soon after courtship among the Paez, but only after a year or more. First of all there begins a trial period, which, however, has an altogether conjugal character. During this time of "trial marriage" the housekeeping abilities of the girl are to be tested, for the latter brings into marriage no dowry of any kind from her parents or any other possessions except her clothing. Since there are no social grounds for a choice of bride in the nonstratified Paez community, and no stimulus to marry on the grounds of a large dowry or on account of the possibility of a low bride price, there are no 581 child betrothals. As bride and wife a girl has only the merit of 462 her personality and her personal capabilities. The latter have the greater weight. It is required of a woman that she be able to cook and to weave the cloth for the whole family, that she not gossip, keep the house in order, and, above all, that she be able to keep the fire going at night and prepare the meal on time in [264] the morning. The Paez are in the habit of having their first meal [252] very early, at five or four o'clock in the morning, and an hour before that the woman must already begin preparing the food. [362] Moreover, as we have seen, the walls of the house are only made [513] of maize stalks placed side by side, and give scarcely any protection against the coolness of the night. They therefore sleep lying

/192 cont./
581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole
life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands
of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not
like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father.
Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the
girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if
children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684 nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has
not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is
condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother.
There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, how-
ever, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do
not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage.
The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized,
since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else de-
mands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child
that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the
Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding
celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the
wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of
ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the
money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for
which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide
for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/193 cont./
585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle,
[422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricultural
[432] products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be
[243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are
585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the
608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage
service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents
[291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The
[431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride
[426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary
[301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No
585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The
wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes
place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding
house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with
which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is
not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the
Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a
month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered
in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down
together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously.
[533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating
[535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed
to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately
the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the
husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should
not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should
also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the
husband commands her to do something and should help him
in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it
to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows:
You have now been taken into our family and you are to
work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his
clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must
help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/194 cont./
585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either
to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which
means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In
some families the celebration goes on for more than a week.
[535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages
[177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to
occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separa-
tion of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each
[837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens --
[848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their
marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse
may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could
not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he
also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased.
Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was
wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the
591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other-
[587] wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if
they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children
they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of
their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the
right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother
happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased
father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with
one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she can-
not, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one
belonging to a man.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyiç) or the evil spirits
165 eč, tũs, and gělyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among
[192] the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times
it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and
to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco,
p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other
Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun.
Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor
and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/196 cont./

764. It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with
184 a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not
[756] enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, *chicha*, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is
756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the
764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial,
783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order
184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two
184 small children (*angelitos*). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is
[273] as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking,
[535] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at
[533] the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

P /197 cont./
184 In this respect Calderas differs from all the other Indio or
764 colonist towns known to me, for there neither music nor dancing
533 is done on the occasion of a death. Both are done at the death of
535 an "angelito," not only among the Paez living in the vicinity of
S colonists, but, above all, among the white and mixed-colored
764 colonists. Thus, on January 1, 1953, soon after our arrival in the
533 archeological park of San Andrés, two small girls of the neighbor-
535 hood came to us and asked if I would photograph the "little angel."
C 123 At first I was annoyed, for a short time before a group of children
had come, carrying a doll on a flower-bedecked tray from house
to house, and they presented it to us, too, as the child Jesus who
was collecting contributions for the mass that was to take place
on January 6. The girls told me, however, that this little angel
was the deceased, two-months-old child of the colonists in the
neighboring house, whose mother had already washed and adorned
it beautifully. The house was 20 meters away from our own, and
even from our door one could already hear jolly music from the
neighboring house, such as we had already heard at Christmas
and at the New Year's Eve celebration. In the house a large num-
C ber of neighbors and relatives were gathered in the same room in
[534] which the child was laid out. People were laughing, drinking,
singing, and dancing. The orchestra -- as always -- consisted of
a guitar, a mandola, and rumba balls, and the usual musicians
played in it. One of them was the father of the dead child, a
second one, its uncle. Astonished at the bustle, I asked the mother
whether she was not a little sad over the loss of her child. She
admitted that she was, but at the same time said that her child
was now a little angel and this was grounds for joy and dancing.
I asked up to what age deceased children are called "little angels."
I was told that if they are not yet two or three years old they
"are" little angels and not merely called that. The small child,
whom they always referred to only as the little angel, was laid
out in the room on a table, flowers lay all around it, and at its
C head stood an image of the Virgin Mary with four candles in front
[273] of it. The people were not yet quite sober from New Year's Eve
and already the inevitable liquor bottle was making the rounds
again. On the next day the burial by the relatives took place.

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S /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a
white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored
paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the partici-
pants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- with-
out the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the grave-
yard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a
grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and
291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is
wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with
a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the
shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side.
The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried
by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a
cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the
burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son dur-
ing a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San
Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the
ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal
hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft,
which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that
no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/198 cont./

764 184 [178] protected from the earth above it as if it were lying in a lateral niche (Ill. 206 /see p. 291/). It was expressly confirmed to me that this form of grave has been used for only about 20 years, and that previously regular niche-graves had been made. The transitional character of this covered pit from the shaft grave with the lateral niche becomes even more apparent from the fact that an additional niche was dug about 30 centimeters deep at the head end of the pit, into which the capitan was laid part way, "so that at least the head is lying in a niche."

/199/ The corpse, wrapped in Colombian clothing, was carried on a bier on the shoulders of two men. The bier consists of two poles held by cross-sticks lashed crosswise one above the other at intervals of 30 centimeters. The cross-sticks are lashed with lianas in pairs, each one above the one longitudinal pole and below the other one (Ill. 205 /see p. 291/). After the burial, the bier was chopped up and then left lying in the graveyard. [201] [516] Shortly before the lowering of the corpse, the members of the family take leave of it by kneeling down and moving one or both hands before them from above downward and saying: "You are now going to heaven, and we shall not see each other again; we hope it may go well with you!"

After the corpse was lowered and its head pushed into the small niche, the bamboo covering was very carefully and tightly laid over it. Then the pieces of sod as the bottom layer were packed next to each other as closely as they had been when lying on the surface of the ground. The members of the family and the friends, with their left hands, then tossed as many handfuls of earth into the grave as the person concerned has family relatives. Together they fill the grave with all the rest of the earth with their hands. This is an honor for the friends of the deceased; if a person has no friends, the members of his family must do this work themselves. After a few handfuls of earth, the filling of the pit is always stamped down long and thoroughly with tree trunks. This is a very long and exhaustive occupation, and the more beloved the deceased was, the longer the stamping. In the case of the burial of the capitan, this lasted almost two hours. As a

/199 cont./

764 result of the very hard stamping of the earth, the burial place
184 does not stand out from the surrounding terrain either because of a
regular grave mound or because of any kind of slight elevation.
A stone 30-60 centimeters in size serves as a marker, which is set
either at the head or the foot end of the grave.

769 Whereas the deceased is given no accessories at all in the
[764] grave to take with him and no offerings are given this is done in
the following year on December 8, the festival of the Immaculada.
[796] On this day, and each year recurrently, the relatives offer the spirits
(áhimos) of their deceased, whom they think of as wind or shadows
living in their former houses, their favorite foods: meat, yuca,
potatoes, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, etc. These gifts are
laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church, and a candle is
lighted and placed beside them. Small children do not get food,
but flowers as gifts.

/200/

e) The Course of a Day

461 Men and women perform the tasks appropriate to them.
462 Those of the women are the least varied, since meals must be
prepared daily and wood and water must be fetched regularly for
cooking or for maintaining the nightly fire. Moreover, the work
of the woman is more bound up with the house, whereas the men
have shorter or longer pauses in their work and during these they
visit neighbors, help them mill sugar cane, and drink chicha.
461 Steadiness is not the strong point of the Paez to begin with. It is
but seldom that tasks are completed in an uninterrupted process;
rather, we almost always found that on the following day the men
were busy with something different from the previous day. To be
sure, field work always requires long pauses between the clearing,
the drying of the felled trees, burning, erecting the fences out of
the remaining wood, and sowing. But even within each of these
stages of work they generally take their time. True, there are
said to be persons who can work for several weeks, up to a month,
uninterruptedly in the clearing of a field, but I found again and
again that after two to four days of work, a day of rest is inserted.

/200 cont./

461/ On one day, for example, a portion of the field is cleared of
weeds, on the next the sugar-cane mill is repaired, on the day
after that a neighbor is helped with housebuilding or milling
sugar cane, then nothing is done for days because of drinking,
and not until several days later is the weeding begun again. Once
they have planned or begun a project for the day, however, they
[123] will not let themselves be interrupted. Several times it happened
that I would visit a family in the evening, in order to plan something which would be not at all unpleasant for them for the next
day. But if they had already planned something else, I was
obliged to come back on the day after that. In the fields, too,
the men are not to be diverted, or only with difficulty. During
the sowing, weeding, clearing, or other work on the field, they
let themselves be drawn into conversation only during the coca
pauses; at other times one could scarcely disturb them at these
and similar tasks which are accomplished in a very even tempo --
provided that enough coca is available. It is different with the
women. They let themselves be easily diverted from their daily,
little varied household tasks. They are the ones who really do
the most work within the family, for, as soon as they are married,
they are never able to sleep through the night, /201/ but must stir
the fire anew every two hours. Furthermore, they get up earlier
in the morning, and they cannot go to bed until later at night.
To rest a bit during the day is completely unknown. Nonetheless,
they are satisfied with their lot and work happily, since all the
women work in the same fashion and they have known nothing else
for generations. There are, of course, tasks which are done
willingly and others which are done less willingly. The goal of
the necessary occupation seems to be decisive, for all the tasks
necessary for nourishment are done willingly. Thus, the men, for
example, like to work in the field, "since it is for food," like
to plant sugar cane or build a sugar mill, "since it produces
something to drink"; and the women, too, like to drag in firewood,
[296] "since it is for meals." Washing clothes is one of the decidedly
[499] unpleasant tasks of the women, as bridge-building is among the
[462] men. In the examples sketched here, the tastes of all the Paez
seem to be alike.

/201 cont./

461/ Whereas the men for the most part plait straw hats when they
28 have nothing else to do, the women are busy with spinning and
making the coca bags or the fiber bags. But even at this they do
not work steadily in the sense, say, that they complete first one
bag, for example, or make all the preparations from the outset
for weaving an article of clothing~~; rather,~~ they always work a
little at a time on each task. Thus, for example, first a little
spinning is done, then wood is fetched, then a coca bag is worked
on, and then perhaps a brief hour is spent at the loom in order to
weave a few centimeters more on the carrying band of the fiber
bags, if the fiber material is at hand. No preparations are made for
this plaiting and weaving for a long period in advance, but rather
one provides herself with wool, spins it, weaves a bit farther, and
then drops the work again for a week or more. Nevertheless, the
women do not have periods of out-and-out idleness, like the men.
461/ This doing-nothing is designated among the Paez with a word of
574 Spanish origin pasnyándo (paseando). To be sure, one must not
156 overdo the inactivity, that is, not "go for a walk" longer than
[192] about two weeks in succession, for otherwise one is called "alko"
(dog), who runs from house to house, sniffs about everywhere, and
gets his food from other people by begging. This is encouraged
by the unwritten law of the Paez, to give food to a starving person,
[773] wherever it may be, until he is satisfied. This is taken very
seriously, not only when adults are the petitioners, but also in
the case of small children, in memory of an event in prehistoric
times when Chauté /202/ turned a number of persons into stones
because they had not given a begging child anything to eat out of
their surplus (see the myths /see p. 224/). Hence if anyone enters
a house "pasnyándo," he is given something to eat. Younger, unmarried
people in particular take advantage of this and sometimes
do not work at all, but go to a different house every day. They
inquire as to where sugar cane is being milled, help there, are
given chicha to drink and food to eat, and the next day go somewhere
else. Thus there are some men who have neither house
nor field, but nevertheless live quite well. To be sure, the

/202 cont./

461/ villagers know these "strollers," and even say that they are
574 sluggards who do not work; but if they then come at mealtime, they
156 get their food and are usually kept there gladly, because they know
how to tell stories well and amusingly, go around everywhere,
and always have news to impart. If a man is married and has a
wife and children, he must, of course, cultivate his own field, in
order to be able to feed his family. In Calderas, however, there
is even a married "stroller" who has neither a house of his own nor
his own field. He lives in the house of a good-natured man whom
he helps in the field and in the house. But this is regarded as an
exception.

829 Thanks for favors or benefits bestowed, which, according
571 to the view of the Paez, are taken for granted, were not custom-
[576] ary originally. Today, however, thanks are often expressed with
[178] a word of Spanish origin "slopage" (Dios se lo pague), without,
however, any feeling of a debt of gratitude, such as toward a
[621] wealthy person or a person in a superior position. Within the Paez
communities there is, to be sure, no sociologically established
authority; similarly, there is no chief or employer of a number
of people who would be dependent upon him and owe him obedience.
Hence no one is forced to obey anyone whom he does not like or
to do anything that he may not care to do. Accordingly, there is
no respect for strangers to the place or even for the priest, for
when the Calderun are in their village, "on their soil," everyone
regards everyone else as equal. Not the least important in this
connection is the general understanding of one another by the in-
habitants, their strengths and weaknesses, which makes pretense,
any spurious authority simply assumed by an official, impossible.
This is one reason -- perhaps the principal reason -- why the
Calderun purposely do not want to have anything to do with the
"blancos" and their officials. An attempt to trace this back to an
awareness of their own inferiority indicates a complete misunder-
[565] standing of the character of the Paez. Their lack of social classes,
and therefore the impossibility of looking down on /203/ another
person, explains their general respect for one another, which is
bestowed on everyone equally. Everyone grants everyone else

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with " "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.
[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with
[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" ([illegible] am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./
461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally
emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against
the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can
acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he
needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would
be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would
clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of
wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for
horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and
then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically,
and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate
and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently
intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous
envy of the other members of the community. The democratization
of the Paez communities not only favors what is common,
but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all --
among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an
inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover
that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This
was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not
stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover,
they did not tell me anything about their property -- a
matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three
families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason
for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any
obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are
elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village
offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy,
though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there
[192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor,"
"póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for
"rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physical
556 sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, however,
626 it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor
family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of
Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil
shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the
neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there.
He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxication
115 would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he
wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and
[291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has
[177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now
proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets.
His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had
to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken
men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too,
when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very
rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to explain
123 to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work
with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and
more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly
demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko,"
a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/205 cont./

578 [123] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be [177] summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

462
857

	Men	Women	Children
Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

/206 cont./

462

	Men	Women	Children
857 Harvesting yuca, cabbage, beans, gourds		x	
Harvesting sugar cane	x	(x)	
Hunting	x		
Fishing at the weir	x	x	
Gathering wild honey	x	x	x
Preparing food		x	
Making chicha and brandy	x	x	
Housebuilding	x		
Making fire with flint and steel	x		
Fetching firewood		x	
Fetching water		x	x
Carrying loads on marches	x	x	
Making weapons	x		
Making plaited hats	x		
Making hammocks	x		
Making rope	x		
Making musical instruments	x		
Making fireworks	x		
Making bird nets	x		
Making children's toys			x
Making clay vessels	x	x	
Making fiber bags		x	
Making coca bags		x	
Making wax candles	x	x	x

/207/

	Men	Women	Children
[439] Ornaments	(bought)	(bought)	
Weaving, plait-weaving		x	
Dyeing		x	
Washing women's clothes and the men's woven clothes		x	
Washing the home-sewn men's trousers	x		
Mending woven clothing		x	
Mending men's trousers	x		

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are
celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take
place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays
Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada
(December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for
joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and
drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in
former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection
with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year,
796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing
221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that
241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology,
and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and
shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life
connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in
view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the
year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth
rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the
community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which
includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving
of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros"
and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an
[554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office
costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the
festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and
brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the
village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers
[426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a
fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival
/208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years
afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival.
In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/*208 cont.*/

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced.
But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants
for this position than are needed. On account of the very high
costs, however, no one can be *fiestero* more than three times in
all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the
normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez.
One may be *albacero* more often, however -- up to ten times,
I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding
the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the
festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than
the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks,
and the "crazy cow"). The *mayordomos* only join in with contributions
of money to pay the priest.

The *fiestero* and *albacero* themselves do not work, but
[476] merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have
their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the
[273] end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carrying
the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of *chicha*
to be prepared is hard work, for every *fiestero* wants to prepare
the most *chicha*, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk
for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals,
which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start
to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men
also arrive, *chicha* is drunk heartily, and the musicians start playing
[541] early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody
assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off
of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door.
[788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows,
a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the
Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the *fiesteros*, along with the *cabildo* and
[993] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to
[994] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables,
and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the
two *fiesteros*, along with their *albaceros* and the music, walk

/208 cont./
796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[794] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and
candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short
speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the
"vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the
musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of
the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
[273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which
everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for
[178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the
423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one
427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia"; Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/210 cont./
423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost
half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted
only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize,
beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which
need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for
years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest,
which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons.
Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must
hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is
not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually
takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants
it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for
example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted
a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar
cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this
violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes
to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
593 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241
[476] It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his
father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the
land. This is not denied, however. After the harvest, this piece
of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./
423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements
are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest
son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock.
If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly,
he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The unculti-
vated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow,
[768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues
to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The
fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in
the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that
the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have
had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own.
[429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If
the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his
mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years
[768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several
younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the
house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

P /212 cont./
428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --
P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves
in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

P
692 Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
625 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
C bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
P
682 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,
182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
[177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable
P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries
who are basically powerless and without standing and where the
young people, through the influences of the living conditions of
the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old
discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953,
that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The
P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a
drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the
father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his
father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he
fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with
relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him
P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the
sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of
gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased
capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who
gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen;
he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and
then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying
in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the
corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./
682 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and
623 relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a
182 few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison.
His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general
the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are always
692 floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried
[681] out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only
[697] social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken,
or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for
punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor
-- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything
[693] to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges.
[624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but
they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The
malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community
623 house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The
685 punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which
692 are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes
the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time;
in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft
of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving
up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search
is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found,
he must be set free again.

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

/214 cont./
426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the
creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur.
685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor
695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for
426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be
found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and
not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con-
692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to
695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the
623 208 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the
[782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority;
they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom
[686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone
refuses several times in succession to take part in public works,
but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to
623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently
692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated
685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into
578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must
always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the
term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires
barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence
around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature.
Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the
owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by
[231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-
shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from
breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, how-
ever, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted
field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to
blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course,
the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion,
696 and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each
685 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The
417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished
681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the *cabildo*. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two
notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person
is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow
notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the *cabildo* take part in this work.
Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the
council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward
and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were
no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the
number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly,
24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their
animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the
person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by complaining
[692] to the *cabildo*, since the *gobernador* cannot make a decision
[208] that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and
a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the *cabildo* must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there
is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions.
Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a
machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting,
is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out
with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but
not very severely."

IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms
193 are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is
difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from
which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P.
797 Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material
192 around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and
193 published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include
114 a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about
personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write."
The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of
the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic
classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic
recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194
[197] As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[124] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuĕ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/217 cont./ In the
194 transcription of Paez words we departed from the Spanish spelling
104 and used the following alphabet:

'	"glottal stop," as in the German ab'ändern
~	nasal vowel
a	short a, as in the German Ball
ā	long a, as in the German schmal
ai	not a diphthong, a+i as in the Paez áime (star), without "glottal stop"
b	always voiced, as in the German Baum
bw	b with the English w
by	palatalized b
č	Spanish or English ch, German tsch
čy	palatalized č
ç	dental ch sound, as in the German ich
d	always voiced, as in the German dumm, English "and"
dy	palatalized d

/218/

e	closed e, as in the German Schnee, but short
ē	closed e, as in the German Schnee
e̱	open e, as in the German wenn, hätte
ē̱	open, long e, as in the German Schäfer
ĕ (ə)	centralized e, as in German gern
ei	not a diphthong, e+i as in the Paez néi (father), without "glottal stop"
f	dentilabial, as in the German fein
g	always voiced, as in the German gut, English "pig"
gw	g with the English w
gy	palatalized g
h	strong h, between h and the ch in German ach
hw	h with the English w
hy	palatalized h
i	short i, as in the German wie, but short
ī	long i, as in the German nie
k	not aspirated, as in the German
kw	k with the English w
ky	palatalized k
l	as in the German laufen; used in place of r in loanwords from the Spanish
ly	palatalized l
m	as in the German mein

/218 cont./

194 mw	m with the English w
104 my	palatalized m
n	as in the German nur
nw	n and the English w
ny	like the Spanish ñ, French gn
ṅ	velar n, like ng in the German singen
ṅw	ṅ and the English w
ṅy	palatalized ń
o	short, closed o, not identified more precisely
o̲	open o, not identified more precisely
ō	long, closed o, as in the German Not
oi	not a diphthong, o+i as in the Paez ói (woman), without "glottal stop"
p	without aspiration, as in the German "Paul"
pw	p with the English w
py	palatalized p
r	only rarely in Spanish words where l is not spoken in place of it
s	always voiceless, as in the German lassen
sy	palatalized s
š	sch as in the German schon
šw	s with the English w
šy	palatalized š
t	without aspiration, as in the German Ton
ts	like the z in the German zwei
tw	t with the English w
ty	palatalized t
u	as in the German gut; often difficult to distinguish from o
v	dentilabial v, as in the German warm
vy	palatalized v
w	semivowel, like the English w
y	semivowel, as in the English "York"
z	voiced s, as in the German Rose
zy	palatalized z

1: Nachtigall--156 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15 /219/

194

The consonants and semivowels in Paez are the following:

	Plosive		Fricative		Affricate				Semi-
	fort	lene	fort	lene	fort	lene	Liquid	Nasal	vowel
Aspirate	ʼ			h					
Velars " (palatal)	k ky	g gy						ṅ	
Palatals	ty	dy	hy ç		č čy		ly	ṅg ny-ñ	y
Alveolars " (palatal)	t	d	s sy	z zy	ts		l	n	
Alveolars with hushing sound " (palatal)			š šy						
Labiodentals " (palatal)			f	v vy					
Bilabials " (palatal)	p py	p by						m my	w

The vowels are the following:

a, ā, ai, e̲, ē̲, e, ē, ĕ (=ə), ei, i, ī, (o̲), o, ō, oi, u.

The pronunciation of "o̲" and "o" was not observed accurately enough; similarly, the pronunciation of "o" and "u" varied among different persons and was difficult to distinguish. "Ai," "ei," and "oi" are not diphthongs, but are pronounced separately, but without any "glottal stop." The pronunciation of "ty" and "ky" is not always unequivocal, for example, *tyita*, "weaving sword." In front of some words beginning with "b" one can hear an "m," for example, in *bāts* (*mbāts*), "agave fiber." Also, in the case of Spanish loanwords beginning with "b," an "m̲" is popularly put in front of them. Thus, *mbē*! instead of *véa*! was always said by the Spanish-speaking Paez. The original Paez alphabet contains no "r"; in Spanish loanwords "l" is used instead, for example, *trapiče* = *lapiče*, *horno* = *olno*, *nuestro Señor Jesucristo* = *neustlo Senyol Hesuklisto*. Difficulties /220/ are caused by a number of words which to the stranger seem to sound exactly

/220 cont./

194 alike at first, but in reality differ -- aside from context -- in minimal nasal differences in pronunciation. Thus, for example, *atç* means "I," "today," "*ruana*," and "digging stick."

Stress is indicated by an accent (') or by a circumflex. Words without a mark for stress are stressed on the penultimate syllable. An accent (') between a vowel and the following consonant has sound value and indicates a "glottal stop" (glottal catch).

b) Grammar

193 The *substantive*: There is no *article*. Gender is not distinguished in words for things and plants. In the case of human beings and animals such a distinction occurs only in exceptional cases, for the terminology for human beings with respect to sex and age or circumstances is so rich in special words that special designations for the sex in general are not required (cf. the kinship nomenclature in the section "Family Organization"). The distinction is not only so exact with respect to human beings, but even maize, for example, is designated by entirely different words, depending on whether it is ripe or still green (*kotç* or *tsot*). If a more precise distinction is nevertheless required, the suffixes -*pits* (man) for the male sex and -*ói* (woman for the female sex are used, for example, *éčpits*, "widower," *éčoi*, "widow." In general, however, these are artificial distinctions which are used primarily for loanwords. In this case one proceeds from the general or typical. Thus, *átaly* is the "chicken," and it is the rooster that is singled out and distinguished from the chicken by the suffix -*pits* (*átâlyepítste*). "Horse" is regarded as general and is designated as *hímba*; the special distinctions are *himbapítste*, "stallion," and *himbaóite*, "mare." Moreover, the word *lečkwe* (child) is added as a suffix to designate small living creatures or small things, for example, *luč*, "child," *lučléčkwe* "small child"; *hímba*, "horse," *himbaléčkwe*, "foal"; *átaly*, "chicken," *atâlyeléčkwe*, "little chicken"; *yat*, "house," *yatléčkwe*, "small

/220 cont./

193 house"; witóñ, "tree," wítoñléčkwe, "small tree."

193 In the case of kinship nouns, there is a prefix pe- for desig-
601 nating female relatives, for example, pétsots, "father's sister," pényok, "mother's sister," "stepmother," "mother's brother's wife." Within the family a dual is designated with the prefix pe-, for example, pĕtām, "father /221/ and mother together," pĕndyík, "father and son together" or "mother and son together," pĕndyīs, "father and daughter together" or "mother and daughter together."

193 The suffix -nas often designates a state or an activity and is used chiefly to form new words: fisnās, "writer," ātycatynās, "tailor," yāsnās, "baptizer" (name-giver), pāsnās, "stranger, new arrival," ká'nas, "burgomaster," ndōsoknās, "midwife," gnās, "virgin." "To become intoxicated" is toñ, the "drunken man" tónas, "one who is becoming intoxicated" tónye. The forms tátyinas, "creator," and tótenas, "gobernador," are used only in sentences. As an individual word one says tákiyi or tótens, respectively. Possibly the ending -nas is one used only in a specific context, like the suffixes -pas and -sa, which are not infrequently encountered. In the case of adjectives, some in the positive and others in the comparative end in -nas: čačanas (strong), wac nyíčkwenas (more beautiful), wac éwnas (better).

There is no general plural. For a more precise designation either a number or an indefinite pronoun is added, for example, teč, "one," or in the plural, é'nzi, "both" (from é'nz, "two"), ko, "several," tak, "many." For the plural in connection with persons the suffix -weš is used in part, for example, pítsteweš, "people," Mogweš, tribe of Guambiano, či'meweš, "whites" (či'me=white).

There is no declension. The sentence order is generally: subject, object, predicate. The nominative is to be distinguished only by its position at the beginning of the sentence. The accusative comes after the nominative and generally before the verb.

Atya na himbása vítepitsna óson, "I this horse this man give," ātya táwas tyaóinat ípak, "I the belt (taw) from this woman (of)

/221 cont./
received," kwéša éšpas kyéhi óratepa óňwetáw, "we coca at any hour eat," čōosoń pítstečāta mahē, yátde oíčāta mahē, "in the field men only work, in the house women only work," pálkite táwala kíma õsya, "in the park many sand fleas there are," but: ātya evít kyákulása, "I lost this cow" (kula = cow), ātya pákan teč pésnye, "I receive a present."

The genitive is expressed by its position before the subject. Pítste šwáa, "the hat of the man" (šwa = hat), ói táwa, "the belt of the woman" (taw = belt), pítste álko, "the dog of the man," tótenas nyó, "the wife of the gobernador."

Negation is generally expressed by met, for example, hip met, "I do not have"; ṅéndya, "to like," ṅéndyi met, "not to like"; ātya uwēt, "I am hungry," ātya ũwemēt, "I am not hungry"; ātya teč nyákča hipt, "I a brother have" (brother = yacté), ātya teč nyákča /222/ hip met, "I have a brother not"; ātya teč péšča nyópa, "I a sister not have" (sister = peš; "nyópa" was likewise translated for me as "not have").

Adjective: In the Paez the adjectives follow and do not change with respect to sex and number: yat īš, "the old house" pits īš, "the old man." The meaning of the adjective is in some cases differentiated more than in German, for example, "strong": pītste čāčat, "the strong man," hímba čāčat, "the strong horse," but: mbēka pōs, "the strong chicha." For "stout," the following adjectives are used: pítste nyiš, "the stout man"; vítoṅ hōt "the stout tree." Likewise there are different words for young or old, depending on whether it is a matter of men or women.

Comparisons are expressed by wac̣, "more": hímba éw, "the good horse," hímba wac̣ éwnas, "the better horse"; ói nyíčkwe, "the beautiful woman," ói wac̣ nyíčkwenas, "the more beautiful woman"; ganš, "ugly," wac̣ ganš, "uglier"; wéča, "little," wac̣ wé, "less."

/222 cont./

802 Numerals: The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are the same. The decimal counting system is built up on counting with the fingers. The numbers six to nine are compounds with "sáki" (six), whereby seven is formed as "six and two," eight as "six and three." There is no counting beyond ten. For "very many" one says "teč kwat" in Paez, literally "one stone." Today it has the meaning of "hundred."

1	teč	7	é'nzsáki
2	é'nz	8	tĕ́ksaki
3	tek	9	pánssaki
4	pans	10	kosémba
5	tats		(literally kóse pémba "end of hands")
6	sáki or tĕ́čsaki		

193 Pronouns: The personal pronouns are absolutely necessary for conjugation. They are put at the beginning. In the first person singular a distinction is made without exception between masculine and feminine; in the second person singular, only in special cases. These cases are the address of spouses to each other, of siblings among themselves, and address to persons of respect. Otherwise there is no distinction according to sex either in the second person singular or in other forms of the singular and plural.

I (masc.): atc; in connection with the verb, ātya; in the conjugations the suffix -pa, "too /auch, "too, also, likewise"/," is often added to the personal pronouns, ātypa, "I, too."

I (fem): ōk.

/223/

193
576 you (masc. and fem.): inc. Young people address older ones neither with "inc" nor with their names. In the case of men, they must first inquire about the name of the man's son (or if he has none, his daughter) and then

/223 cont./

193 576 address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."

Older women are respectfully addressed "īkf."

193 601(	you (father or mother to son):	kwe
	you (father or mother to daughter):	íča
	you (wife to husband):	íngya
	you (husband to wife):	íkwe
	you (brother to brother or sister to sister):	yakté
	you (brother to sister):	pe'š́
	you (sister to brother):	ndyīš
193 [576]	you (fem.):	īkf, respectful address for older women
	he, she, it:	kya
	we (masc. and fem.):	kweš
	they (masc. and fem.):	kyáṅweš

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word c̮úkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of [114] Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs.

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/223 cont./

The masculine forms are: The feminine forms are:

my	horse	ātc	himba	my	belt	ōk	táwa
your	horse	inç	himba	your	belt	inc	táwa
his	horse	kyeç	himba	her	belt	kyeç	táwa
our	horse	kweš	himba	our	belt	kweš	táwa
their	horse	kyáṅweš	himba	their	belt	kyáṅweš	táwa

The demonstrative pronouns are: "na" (this) and wíte (literally, "the other") in combination with /224/ "na," before or after, in the sense of "that." Na ātc, "this ruana," wítena ātc,, "that ruana"; na hímba, "this horse," wíte hímbana "that horse." Sometimes the third person singular of the personal pronoun (kya) is used as a demonstrative pronoun.

As an interrogative pronoun "ma" has the meaning of "which" and "how many." Ma hímba, "which horse," ma hímbanaṅg inç uwáy, "which horse did you buy"; ma pits, "which man," ma pítsnaṅg inç ói, "which man did you see"; ma ātç "which ruana," ma ātynak kya om, "which ruana did she weave"; ma ói, "which woman," ma óiweš twétsyo, "which women are walking there," mānstyin, "how many," mans vyó hípong, "how much money have you."

Indefinite pronouns are:

all:	çúcai; çúcai pits, "all men," çúcai ói, "all women";
each:	tečteč (cf. 1 = teč);
both:	é'nzi (cf. 2 = é'nz); é'nzi pits, "both men," é'nzi ói, "both women';
enough:	āhna; āhna vyó, "enough money";
anyone:	māpa

/224 cont./

193 no one: tēčanyópa; tēčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] [797] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of óñna, "yesterday" (in context: óñnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[26] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/225 cont./
193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always
succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful
surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one
can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng,
in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present,
the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The
personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the
model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the
various forms of the second person singular were omitted in faver
of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon	Future:	ātya apohípt	
	inç̣ ōpôneṅg		inç̣ opohípeneng	
	kya ōpon		kya opohípa	
	kweš ōpontkaw		kweš opohíptaw	
	kyáṅweš ōpotyin		kyáṅweš opohíptyin	
Perfect:	ātya ōpokot	or:	ópnast	(óṅnaha)
	inç̣ ōpoing	or:	opnásing	(óṅnaha)
	kya ōpok	or:	ópnasa	(óṅnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw	or:	ópnastaw	(óṅnaha)
	kyáṅweš ōpotç̣	or:	ópnastyin	(óṅnaha)

/226/

193 In like manner óhoya, "to go," is therefore conjugated:

Present:	ātya óhon	Future:	ātya ohohípt	
	inç̣ óhoneg		inç̣ ohohípeneṅg	
	kya óhon		kya ohohípa	
	kweš óhontkaw		kweš ohohíptaw	
	kyáṅweš óhoyen		kyáṅweš ohohíptyin	
Perfect:	ā̃tya óhokot	or:	óhonast	(esé)
	inç̣ óhoing	or:	ohonásiṅg	(esé)
	kyá óhok	or:	ohonása	(esé)
	kweš óhotaw	or:	ohonástaw	(esé)
	kyáṅweš óhotç̣	or:	ohonástyin	(esé)

In like manner úsya, "to give," is conjugated: present: átya úson, inç úsoneṅg, etc.

gwábya, "to speak"; here the "b" becomes "g" in the conjugation:

Present:	ātya gwágwan
" " ":	īnç̣ gwágwaneṅg, etc.

(on another occasion, however, I was given átya gwábal for "I speak").

Perfect:	ātya gwágwakot	(óṅnaha)
	inç̣ gwáving	(óṅnaha)
	kya gwáok	(óṅnaha)
	kweš gwáotaw	(óṅnaha)
	kyáṅweš gwáotç̣	(óṅnaha)

Future:	ātya gwágwahípt
	inç̣ gwágwahípeneṅg
	etc.

/226 cont./

In the future and perfect, básya, "to answer," is conjugated slightly differently:

Present:	ātya báson	Future:	ātya basohípt
	inç básoneg		inç básmaṅg
	kya báson		kya básmak
	kweš básontkaw		kweš básěntaw
	kyáṅweš básotyin		kyáṅweš básmatç

Perfect:	ātya bást	(esé)
	inç básiṅg	(esé)
	kya básk	(esé)
	kweš bástaw	(esé)
	kyáṅweš bástç	(esé)

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Similarly píyeya, "to learn":

Present:	ātya píya'n	Future:	ātya piyahípt
	inç piyáneṅg		inç píymaṅg
	kya piyán		kya píymak
	kweš piyántkaw		kweš píyěmtaw
	kyáṅweš piyátyin		kyáṅweš píymatç

Perfect:	ātya píyt	(ónnaha)
	inç píyiṅg	(ónnaha)
	kya píyik	(ónnaha)
	kweš píyětaw	(ónnaha)
	kyáṅweš píyitç	(ónnaha)

"To be" as an auxiliary verb is not known, but only ōsya as a verb in the sense of "to be found."

Present:		Future:
I am in Calderas	ātya Caldelaste ōst	ātya ōsohípt
you are in Calderas	íncpa Caldelaste ōsiṅg	inç ōsohípenen
he is in Calderas	kyápa Caldelaste ōsěn	kya ōsohípa
we are in Calderas	kwéšpa Caldelaste ōstaw	kweš ōsohíptaw
they are in Calderas	kyáṅwešpa Caldelaste ōstyin	kyáṅweš ōsohíptyin

/227 cont./

Perfect:	ātya õsot	or:	õsnast
	inç̣ õsoing	or:	õsnasiṅg
	kya õsok	or:	õsnasa
	kweš õsotaw	or:	õsnastaw
	kyáṅweš õsotç̣	or:	õsnastyin

Formed without auxiliary verbs:

I am	strong: ātya čáčat	I am	tired: ātya wátyt
you are	strong: inç̣ čáčaing	you are	tired: inç̣ wátyenen
he is	strong: kya čáča	he is	tired: kya wátyin
we are	strong: kweš čáčataw	we are	tired: kweš wátytau
they are	strong: kyáṅweš čáčatyin	they are	tired: kyáṅweš wátytyin

"To have," hípoya, which is conjugated normally, serves as an auxiliary verb:

Present:	I have	fleas	ātya pá'pa hīpt
	you have	fleas	inç̣pa pá'pa hípěneṅg
	he has	fleas	kyápa pá'pa hípěnen
	we have	fleas	kwéšpa pá'pa híptaw
	they have	fleas	kyáṅwešpa pa'pa híptyin

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Future:	ātya hípohīpt	Perfect:	ātya hípokot
	inç̣ hípohípeneṅg		inç̣ híponiṅg
	kya hípohípa		kya híponek
	kweš hípohíptaw		kweš hípoktaw
	kyáṅweš hípohítyin		kyáṅweš hípokotç̣

In like manner, one conjugates:

I have water: ātya yő hipt

inç̣ yő hípěneñg, etc.

/Section c), "German-Paez Vocabulary," has been omitted in the translation; see pp. 228-251 of the foreign text./

/251/ d) Sample of the Language

násą šínyo

539 teč pítstęga násą šínyo. kyáka yókso óço vítyin. tyíčaka pęlnílya yáçčaka óhon. kasĕn kágač yóktę pĕnyátę ópon.

çtę́ ópkok teč pipšáw koę́s káko mbáston óro. číčaha óro mbastónasa kígwętę kyíkčaha. çtę́ ípyuka. ę́čna kompténdšaha kĕlovíčaha. çtę́ pónzękaçtę īpç kodyíčaha. çtę́ ípyutka. šíčaha tandyín kaóho kyányo pipšáw kwés gayo. kwés noč gáyo kyásonka tandyínoho. šíčaha toló kaítoṅsyo. teč ol kaítoṅsyo. kya toló dyísa ipyúčaha çtę́ kak. çtę́ olnápa cak. kyáčkęna ōla ṅpág. tsē.

kyápkača násą šíha kya mbastonásą kósehęn sóṅča. číčaha çte šínyošaha pelnílyasa kósętę āčaka ší'nyo. šínaba ápka kya pipšábasa kya mbástonasa cósęhęn. sóṅčaka pipšábasa ap. tyígota kya pipšába toló yópas ṅmę́. mbastónasa ṅmę wowóka.

/252/

kámbo nayát, wówoya púntęka. kyápkača násą šíha pipšáo ę́stę ka wowonóso. pipšábasa ikĕnyíhika. kyápa pipšába kámbos tyítmęka gwówo. gwę́tę yúčpa. kámbosa kyíkmęka.

tyányohá tek ę́šnetç óta kawowó. tek ę́šnetç ótasko pénya wítstę zę́ta. kyápkača šíha çtę́ pę́nyatwístę násayúča káčka. kyápkača pipšába pę́nyakę ísaṅkéča ókwę gwálatę. kyíčaha yat teč óka.

kyápcača teč látotę pipšáosa kyíwęšinç káse kya šína ógweya. kyápkača kya šíha kítyen ši' nyóča šwénden wowóka. teč ešnétç ótatsko. kya ōl kākinyē kígwętey šwénden pāka.

šwénden pāčaha kya ōltyísa tę́ngen óṅsoka. násayúča. yáhapa ōnsóka. tólapa ōnsóka. óla sont otányišaka ōnso.

tyínapa fí'ndetsko yátęn óka. yáhasa tóṅgšaha nyó. táštępačaha kya yáhasa nyónaka tása ndók.

/252 cont./

Translation[1]

The Human Jaguar

539 A man was a human jaguar. He went into the mountains to hunt. In walking he carried a knife in his hand. In order to rest, he sat down in the middle of the mountain that was there.

There came a Pijao, who was a member of the cabildo, with his golden staff of office. He set the gold staff on the ground. Then he lighted a fire. He stacked up wood to make a pile. Then he drew fire out of his armpits. Then he lighted it.

The human jaguar noticed that the one who was walking there was a Pijao, a member of the cabildo. He was a member of low rank, he noticed. Then (the Pijao) brought bananas, and he brought a snake. He roasted these bananas in the kindled fire. He also roasted the snake. Shortly thereafter the snake hissed. tsē̄.

The human jaguar pondered over how he might get hold of this staff. With a knife in his hand the human jaguar suddenly leaped up. He leaped on the Pijao in order to take the latter's staff in his hand. He pondered in this fashion as he pounced upon the Piajo. The Pijao, however, interrupted his meal of bananas. He seized his staff and ran away without eating.

/253/ He held the staff in his hand, thus he started to run. Then the human jaguar ran after the Pijao. He almost killed the Pijao. The latter did not let go of his staff while he ran. He fell down, he did not let go of his staff.

Three hours were full, that is as long as he ran. When three hours were up, they came to a rock. Then the jaguar transformed himself into a human being on the rock and sat down. The Pijao climbed down from the rock and went to a large plain. He went into his house.

After a moment the Pijaos go out and come running, in order to seize this jaguar. Thereupon the human jaguar transformed himself once again into a jaguar and returns and runs away. Three full hours (he ran back). When he came back, the roasted snake lay on the ground.

[1] [this is a translation of the Paez text appearing on p. 168 -- An.]

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tắtyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tắtyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [176] "hell" is called eč kígwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/254 cont./

804 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (*ẽn*) and the
192 night (*kos*). Early morning is called *kosẽ*; afternoon at the time
when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the
sun, is called *ff'nze*. Other subdivisions of the day are made
according to the interval of an *ě́snetc*, meaning the time it takes
to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for
"hour." The largest period of time is the month, *ĩte*, which is
designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a
year the Spanish word *año* is used. In former times the word
[221] *enztẹ* was used. It is the designation for the large annual communal
[226] fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The
[132] two rainy seasons, called *nospá'nye*, and the two dry seasons of
the year, called *sek*, are not regarded as time intervals, but as
seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 No large geographical orientations or regional, individual
[491] divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of
Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto
road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen
the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.
601 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera,
[186] in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation
123 area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means
484 of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the
day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.
821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed
ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according
to constellations.

202 It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of
[361] individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical
[203] means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of
urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the
designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are
used. The Paez word for "ten" (*kóse pémba*) literally means "no
more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting.
The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/255 cont./
802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today
it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost
all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are
treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken
bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps
[845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In
a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the
right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at
an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches,
a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence
some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused
by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to
the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound
is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured
person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing
began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure,
with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit
missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish language
871 and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today
in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the
teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the
parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they
have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing
is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially
those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./
797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious
activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
natural and normal development of human existence is not ob-
182 structed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through
the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There
are two types of them, the teyu and the nyiç. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyiç is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont./

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/257 cont./

754 648 797 The special target of the evil sorcerers are the white Colombians. People are afraid to undertake anything against them openly, but the magic manipulations of the nyic against them are widely known. The ones primarily affected are the whites, who robbed the Paez of land, and among them the missionaries, too. The nyic then try to obtain mastery over the souls of the whites, to treat them with herbs, and thus make them so sluggish that they will not return to Tierradentro any more. It is also said that the nyic had placed their remedies /258/ in the church so that the mission priest from Belalcázar would never come there any more and would never enter it any more.

754 789 [464] The victims of evil sorcery, however, are not only human beings and animals, but also the cultivated fields, which can be bewitched by means of eggs, salt, or pubic hair. The families affected are then no longer able to feed themselves, and in many cases the fathers of the families must leave the village in order to hire themselves out to the whites. The removal of the unpopular one is thus achieved. His return is prevented in magical ways, the nyic placing special herbs, which the person cannot step over, on the connecting roads.

754 The aids for evil magic are not, say, objects belonging to the persons to be bewitched and used in a pars-pro-toto act, but are exclusively parts or agents from among the belongings of the sorcerer, which, for their effect, must be brought into close contact with the victim himself or his soul. If the nyic wishes his victim to have an accident, he places a smoothly polished stone from the river somewhere in his house. The person in question will then soon slip and fall and break his bones or suffer a sprain. Another possibility for bewitchment is for the nyic to spread his agent on the food of his victim. Thus, a shaman from Santa Rosa reports how the former young and capable Gobernador Leonidas was killed by the nyic Dolores Dinó. She visited him one day while he was working alone in his garden and threw several of her own pubic hairs in the food in his cooking pot and, in addition, a fragment from a prehistoric clay pot of the Pijao. Leonidas ate this meal.

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only
with difficulty, until he finally died.

The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
754 756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyiç. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For
[683] this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and
broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake
anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all
evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyiç were always
very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo
have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse
the well-known nyiç today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since
they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female
shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any
time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and
hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyiç, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a
teyu may become a nyiç and vice versa. In the following, there-
fore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described.
In spirit the nyiç are based on the same foundation. They never
show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
[124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance
were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to
let us take part in their séances.

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The *teyu* with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two
ways. Either they were taught by a *teyu* for a more or less long
period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were
directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a
result of special selection through an experience caused by higher
beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a
regular apprenticeship with an experienced *teyu* is characteristic
for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and some-
times also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans"
are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen
through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the con-
tinuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially
chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of
human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator
[776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradi-
tion is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most
powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were
scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the
present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical
abilities.

754 The *teoi* Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead.
Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a
few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she
received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The
latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black
cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her
her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as *teoi* by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a *nyiç*,
683 and brought her before the *cabildo* to be punished. Since the people
greatly fear the *nyiç*, she was given many blows there, and, indeed,
with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/260 cont./
756 on the village plaza, along with her medicinal herbs. Then they
[754] sent her back to her house, without her staff and without her
[683] medicinal herbs. When someone again became sick, however,
the people again came to her and asked her to help the sick one.
Then her husband, who, however, was not a shaman, made her a
new staff; she herself again looked for her medicinal herbs and
was able to help the sick. Since then she has been recognized
once again as a good shaman and helps all who come to her.
Another shaman in Santa Rosa said that he had received his call
when he was but six years old. One day when he was working in
the field, his mother, dressed in black and with a hat on her head,
came to him and scolded him on account of his poor work. When
she left, he followed her, but she disappeared into the river. When
he returned home, he realized that the woman whom he saw could
not have been his mother, since the latter had been in the community
field at that time, where she was cooking for the workers.
Undoubtedly this woman was a spirit, he confessed, who wanted to
tell him that he should become a shaman. This was also confirmed
for him by two fiber bags which she carried and which corresponded
exactly to those used by the shamans for their medicinal
herbs. A shaman from Calderas said that there came to him one
night a very beautiful blond child with the women's hair style,
who, however, was Thunder, and called upon him to become a
shaman.

756 If one does not have visions by himself, he can, in order to
787 become shaman, seek them purposely. For this he need only eat
[262] very little and must refrain entirely from ají (a very pungent condi-
[263] ment /see the glossary, p. 248/) and salt for one month. (The
same thing also happens to a young man after he has involuntarily
had a vision.) The one seeking a vision then goes all alone into
the mountains, where he wanders over hill and dale for a long time,
until he comes to a beautiful place where he meets an older man.
The latter, like himself, is chewing coca. Through his appearance
and his friendly manner he inspires confidence in the youth, and
the latter tells /261/ him of his wish to become a shaman. He

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for
medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed
replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal
herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag
full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which
that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the
youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then
he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets
him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal
herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only
in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connec-
tion, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see
756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all
to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with
curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other
people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision.
One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several
years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the
handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs,
and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treat-
ment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done
among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman
[554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in
the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

In his opinion, one cannot
/261 cont./
756 learn how to become a shaman; rather, this is a hereditary gift.
[827] He himself has no son and no pupils.

The tepits Francisco Cuskue is about 40 years old, married, and has four daughters and one son. Two children died. He has neither /262/ cows nor pigs, horses or sheep, and is very poor. He learned from childhood on, for his father and grandfather were also shamans. He wants his son to become a shaman, too. The latter, about ten years old, has not yet begun the apprenticeship, [123] however. In reply to my question as to whether I, too, as a stranger, might become a shaman, he asserted that this would be possible, but said that the training is very long and difficult. One has to learn from childhood on, until one is about 25 or 30 years old. I, in my case, am already too old to begin.

The tepits Cerbeleón Niunda (Ill. 153 /see p. 267/), who lives near the shaman Francisco, is the son of a shaman, was taught by his father, and had the "signs" when he was only ten years old. He is now, as an estimate, 55 years old (no Paez knows how old he is) and had ten children, six of whom died. In the way
756 of possessions he has neither horse nor cow nor sheep. Whereas
312 all Paez divert the mountain brooks so that a small ditch flows past their houses and they always use only flowing water, the shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón have a small joint reservoir below a spring, from which they drink and into which, before drinking, they place one of their medicinal herbs, šũ. When questioned, both stated that they did not do this for any special reason and could not find out about anything in the reservoir, neither sickness nor the future.

754 Just as the good shaman was chosen by a vision, this also ap-
787 plies for the evil sorcerer. It is regarded as an omen that he is to become a nyic̣ if, for example, in a dream he sees a bird that in its beak holds a donkey, into whose open mouth flies are
754 crawling, or simply if he dreams about pigs. The prospective nyic̣ may have his vision during the day or at night; it is said that people who are abroad a great deal during the night are the most susceptible to evil sorcery, since at this time they have the

/262 cont./
754 most opportunities to meet evil spirits. Generally they do not need a teacher, but may look for their herbs by themselves. There are also many people, however, who would like to learn sorcery from other nyiç, just as there are also supposed to nyiç who instruct others in their art.

756 Avoidance prescriptions and taboos for the shaman include
784 some sexual and dietary abstinence, without, however, being
[834] very extensive or strict. Intercourse with his wife is forbidden
[263] for him when he feels his "signs." Moreover, he may not eat any ají if possible, in order not to make Thunder too angry. Also, he may eat only very little salt, since Thunder likewise /263/ eats
[787] no salt. For the séances, which always take place at night, he fasts the whole day, since a full stomach makes it difficult to feel the
756 "signs." The other avoidance rules for the shaman are the same
784 as for all other human beings. For example, one may not kill a
825 snail, for if he should touch it, he would become lazy. In like manner, the black woodpecker (ánza) may not be killed, since otherwise, while working, one would split the machete in the same way as the tail of the woodpecker is shaped. Young men are forbidden to take a stolen hen away from a fox, for then another man would take his bride or wife away from him. Only
[262] old men may confidently eat such a hen, if they have first run around the house with a firebrand.

c) Shamanistic Aids

756 Among the shamanistic aids, the "signs" are the most im-
787 portant symptoms experienced, while the outward ceremonial gear is as meager as the whole Paez culture. The only ceremonial implement is the unadorned shaman's staff, the functional meaning of which, however, is far less important than the shamanistic "signs" (ítok). "They are like the pecking of a bird," the shaman Cerbeleón Niunda said of them, and Francisco Cuskue describes them as the irregular beating of his pulse. To be able to receive
[278] and to interpret them is the basis of being a shaman. Knowledge of the medicinal herbs, the handling of the shaman's staff, in

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by themselves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
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278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
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[127]

* I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šũ (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

/264 cont./

756 Besides the remedies which the shaman must use for curing,
787 his signs also predict fate and the future for him or tell him
whether the sicknesses will become better or worse. They also
tell him about events which are imminent. Thus he learns
through them, for example, that sick persons will be coming to
him on the following day with this or that illness or this or that
756 request. For all these matters every shaman has his signs at
787 definite parts of his body, those on the left half of his body gen-
826 erally signifying something unfavorable, those on the right half,
something good. Thus the rise of the signs from the outer side
of the right foot to the ankle means that the medicinal herbs
are taking effect. If the signs rise from the outer side of the left
foot, this is proof that the nyic must win and the bewitched one
[763] must die. If the signs rise on the right foot to the shin, a mem-
[783] ber of the family will die and his soul go to heaven. If the signs
[828] go along the inner side of the left foot, "pest" will come, and
the sick person will become mentally ill. If the signs are felt
between the right shin and the heel and they go toward the left
side, this is an omen of a battle between the teyu and the nyic.
If the signs move from the left ankle up to the hollows of the
knees, the planted field is bewitched. Signs in the left calf an-
nounce the visit of an evil shaman; signs in the right calf, the
visit of a good old woman; signs on the outer side of the right
or left calves announce the visit of a nyic or a good old man,
756 respectively. Signs that run down from the right knee cap announce
787 the death of a person through tũs or gělyómp ("rainbow" or "moun-
826 tain spirit" as spirit beings, see below /see pp. 191ff./). Signs on
763 the /265/ left kneecap mean that the teyu will win in battle with
the nyic; signs from the upper thighs to the hollows of the knees of
the right foot, that the patient will die of a malignant "pest."
If the signs go down from the left upper thigh, a bad person is
walking by outside. If the signs go from the right hip to the foot,
the wife will menstruate. If the signs are felt in the tenth rib on
the right side, the sick person will soon die, since he has been
stung by the mountain spirit. The signs on the left tenth rib
announce the arrival of an evil person. If the signs go from the

/265 cont./
756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the eč spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyiç will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
756 person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
787 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
175 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
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554 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
[577] takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[464] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

/266 cont./

115 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have 787 often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said 821 that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die. 554 He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die [787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against 787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under [783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a [963] cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

If someone
/266 cont./
787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/
black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night
and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexa-
tion during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a
chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in
a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown
horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the
color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dream-
ing of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black
cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before
sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green
or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the
subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees
a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil
shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the
wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but
neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it.
Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil
sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a
dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large
rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father.
But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he
will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a
great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a
sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul
of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down
the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced
spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a correspond-
ing external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is
added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic,
like the entire culture of the Paez.

/267 cont./
756 like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither
special articles of clothing, or equipment nor any other kind of
ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centi-
meters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It
is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section.
Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first
[764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put
into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into
the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to
the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during
the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's
staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa
Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads
[774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has
collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa
[755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through
[787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better
able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her
medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus
can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's
773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero
of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was law-
giver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief
[776] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the
stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day
shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of
spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting
on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the
stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself.
According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in
the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the
son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred
to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/268 cont./
756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared
in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings
were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he
also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756
623 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama

/269 cont./
778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful
magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as
simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is
believed that Thunder will kill them.

776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed
like a Paez man with hat and black *ruana*. It is reported that he
does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his *tama*, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "*tíngalo*" (triangle). It is not impossible
that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San
Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped
sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the *teyu* as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names,
such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his
characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as *sāt* (cacique)
he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will
one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first
above the house of a *nyiç* and then above one belonging to a *teyu*
he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been
bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare
undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell
how the earlier *teyu* were in a position to speak with Thunder at
any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

756 longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who
776 was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is
787 still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be
sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

776 Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

753 All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated
754 by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily
783 in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural
influences are either bewitchments by the nyiç, magical injury

/271 cont./
753 caused by the spirits eč, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwē). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place
after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral proces-
753 sion or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[844] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.

342 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 783 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire
villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited.
Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gĕlyómp, tũs, and eč. All three are very complex conceptions
776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow,"
and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the
cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the
people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person.
And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the
fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg),
whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from
the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and
eč, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person
lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in
the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead
wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming
up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./
776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his
ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the
time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being,
sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a
woman or a child. Gělyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused
by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the
spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are
red in color in the case of gělyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and
black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gělyómp manifest
themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one
of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is
walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm
or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person
therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of
the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he removes
[761] from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair
is from the gělyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[751] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can
protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning
home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march,
he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any
hair of the gělyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever
there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red
and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize
sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is
covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river,
where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in
a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[756] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rainbow
[789] disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Eč, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
[753] death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since eč
[761] kills the most people. Eč lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the
earth, however, to see him; rather, eč himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Eč is also the name
for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends
out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fireflies
776 if they are able to catch them. Eč is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough
offerings. For this reason people give eč a dram-glass full of
brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the
ground; likewise eč gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 eč demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering eč any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to
the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows
that the man slaughtered a pig without giving eč anything -- tells
him that this is the punishment of eč. That very rarely happens,
however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the animal
desired by eč, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and
he gives them to eč, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give eč herbs and
brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which
he has received from eč.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate outcome
753 is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic
has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements
about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taffi, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taffi, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, eč, or nyiç without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taffi were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taffi. He and other teyu
756
774 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
754 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs s̃u and vitubĩtskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from eč.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyiç, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/274 cont./
554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the *capitan* of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the *capitan* as follows: The *capitan* had to die because the *tũs* had stolen the *taff* soul of the *capitan*. The *capitan* died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
[755] his *taff* soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the *tũs*, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the *ũns* soul (*ũns* also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, *ũns* leaves
the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips.
[827] Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the *ũns* has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the *ũns*, or at least to make it more difficult.

/275 cont./

775 [828] [774] Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old têoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips. 755 775 763 [824] Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blowing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful of the herbs čáyuts and šuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time, with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyĩka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 [825] Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/276 cont./

769 foods: meat, maize, chicha, brandy, coca, yuca, etc. These gifts are laid on a banana leaf on the floor of the church and a 775 candle is lighted along with it.) The áhimos, too, can only be seen by shamans.

774 She does not know when and from where a child gets its ũns and taff. She believes that as soon as the heart of the child beats in the mother's womb, the child has ũns; it gets taff only after birth. Animals have no taff; they have ũns only if they devour human beings.

e) Shamanistic Séances

756 783 Each of the shamanistic séances, be it a treatment of the sick or a ceremony during housebuilding or at a burial, is basically a purification from "pest" and therefore a ceremony of magic practices. All these ceremonies and séances are thus in essence the same. They differ only in details, for example, in the different medicinal herbs or in the order of the various purifications. Let us first give a description of a purification ceremony /277/ by the shaman Martin Chucue after a burial (see Ill. 208 to 213 /see pp. 292-294/).

756 764 783 The shaman does not take part in the burial. Moreover, he neither enters the house of a deceased in which the corpse is still present, nor does he accompany a funeral procession to the burial place. The mourners, men, women, and children, go to the burial place together and then return to the house of mourning. Before they may enter it, however, they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them in order to purify them for the first time. Then they go together to the house of mourning, which, however, the purified people may not yet enter, since it is still unclean. The shaman, with his helpers, must first purify the house with the same remedies with which he purified the people, namely, with water to which herbs and cow excrement have been added. After that the people, too, may enter the house and eat and drink.

/277 cont./

756 The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and
765 principal purification through his signs from eč. He announces
783 this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be
[787] purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river
and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat
[823] stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no puri-
[237] fication site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the
helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the šũ herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners
[296] which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are
placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously
by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as
though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of
the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves
his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he
[823] turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil eč, and to be
[776] sure, in the ground (*).

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* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

/278 cont./

756 Then everybody goes, the shaman last, to the hole on the left
765 side and spits coca into it; then everybody takes brandy and squirts
783 it into the air toward the left. After that those who are to be purified start to undress, and each one takes a seat on one of the stones. The helpers of the shaman bring vast quantities of water -- always mixed with herbs and cow excrement -- in their calabashes, and then the very vigorous washing of the body begins. The water is first poured over the head, then over the body, front and back, so generously that everyone must have at least 25 liters of water run over him. The people themselves rub their bodies very thoroughly. In conclusion the shaman places a few herbs on the head of each one. After that, too, the shaman must again fight his battle with staff and liana in the air and squirt brandy toward the left. Then each one stands up individually and the shaman passes his shaman staff and herbs laterally around him from left to right and from bottom to top. Again and again the shaman and the people drink brandy, which they spit out in the air to the left.

After the ablutions of the mourners, followed by the ablutions of the assistants and the shaman, all sit down again in their old places, opposite the stones. The shaman sits down beside them, the staff stuck in the ground before him, his mouth completely full of coca and tobacco. In addition, at short intervals, he takes a
[787] swallow of brandy. He sits this way for about 20 minutes, chewing
[763] and drinking, and then he says that the signs in his hand are very bad and that soon someone will die. One of the young men present, the nephew of the deceased and helper of the shaman during the purification, asks who is going to die or whether it might even be he himself. The shaman, who has been talking monotonously to himself and keeps staring at one spot, answers, without turning his head, that he does not know who will die. The shaman remains sitting a while longer, constantly chewing coca and drinking brandy, and then he gets up and the people sit down in a row behind the stones, first the men, then the women. The shaman takes herbs in his hands, spits the freshly chewed coca with tobacco on them, and passes this around the bodies of all present, always from the lower left, up the side to the head, and down again on the right side, then up the back

756 /279/ and the front, and at the end he "sucks out," holding one
765 fist over the other, everything dirty, the last remnants of the pest,
783 from the body at three places. First, on the right side of the neck in the hollow of the collarbone, then in the middle of the head, and then he passes both hands along the arms from the shoulders down to the finger tips and sucks on the palms of both hands. Then he cleanses himself in the same manner, by passing his hands, filled with herbs, along his entire body from below upward, whereupon he goes to the left, to the hole, sticks his staff into it, and apparently disgorges something from his stomach, aiding this procedure by pressing his hands into the pit of his stomach. Then he vigorously spits into the hole what he has disgorged. After that he once again takes herbs and brandy, as well as coca, into his mouth and likewise spits them into the hole. Now he takes fresh coca, herbs, and brandy, chews this, and spits it on the tip of his staff and passes this over the bodies of all the people, moving first showly, then faster from below upward, as though he were obliged to press out, from below upward, something inside the body. As he does so, he mutters words that are incomprehensible, and finally, after purifying each person, he hurls the pest, which is hanging on the point of his staff, away from him in a wide arc. He also cleanses the mountain of linen with his staff in the same way. afterwards he again takes coca and lime into his mouth, as well as herbs, among them always šũ in particular, and puts the same thing into the mouths of the people. After that he rubs off his hands with šũ, spits brandy on them, and performs the same purification ceremony on the people as before, again passing over their bodies from below upward and finally sucking out the pest from their necks, heads, and hands.

The participants, at the moment of purification, are very serious concerning the matter. In between, however, they laugh and talk, and the men go about their occupation of straw-hat braiding.

After these three purifications in a standing position, a further purification in a sitting position follows, during which the shaman thrusts his staff into the ground in front of each person. After each purification he goes to the hole and spits everything into it

/279 cont./
756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing šũ herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ajſ and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the
756 patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the
patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The
shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal
herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyiç from possibly being
transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into
the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he
does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accord-
[824] ance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/
[787] brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his
shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign;
if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On
the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel,
likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent
the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He
now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew.
Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs.
From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient
that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from
the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama,
and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash
of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat,
once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into
his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about
an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient
does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the
[783] patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He
will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a
good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca
leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition,
[777] a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take
[186] any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for
otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others,
the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the
place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go
wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the
only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil eč spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which šũ and yakũma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

756 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

/283 cont./
756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the
pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman,
wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick.
During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and,
to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly
like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the
shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the
ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes
covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the
teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move
off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the
shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the
dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a
/284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the
house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering
and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten
jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as
remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs šũ and šulápe. On a small
pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries
out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts
a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter
does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here
any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this
were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

/284 cont./
241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should ~~also~~ be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each
type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer
it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full
of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all
the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance,
and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse
them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been
cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product
to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who,
in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic.
According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good
and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry
out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are
convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil
machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for
only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one
who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since
the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good
shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the
evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his
youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already
familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/285 cont./
578 killed his mother and his brothers, declared his hostility toward
754 him because he was well on the way to becoming a good shaman.
756 He became ill and his signs announced to him that he would soon
578 die. Now there was a famous shaman in Huila, and he sought
75 him out with much brandy and coca. Immediately this shaman
774 realized that it was a case of bewitchment by a nyiç. The only
possibility of getting off alive was to kill the soul of the evil
sorcerer immediately. Together they dug a hole for this purpose
and in it they waited many nights for the soul of the nyiç. It
came, but since it was very suspicious, it would not let itself be
caught. More than a month passed in this way. Night after
night the two were lying in wait, without sleeping, and then one
night, near daybreak, the soul of the evil sorcerer came. The
shaman was ready, however; he raised his staff and with a powerful blow it fell into the hole. Immediately earth was piled up
over it and the hole completely covered. Hissing, the soul died.

756 Since the young shaman from Santa Rosa was well once more,
789 the old shaman sent him home. He advised him, however, to
824 carry herbs with him, since there were robbers on the way.
Cautiously he proceeded to the dangerous spot, and already his
signs announced to him that the robbers were in the vicinity. He
immediately blew his herbs, and the robbers fell into a deep
sleep. Farther along on the way home he met several people
who were pursuing a criminal. They gave him brandy and coca and
asked him to help them, from his home, to capture the criminal.
He then strewed čayuts on his own feet, and the criminal could no
longer walk, so the people were able to capture him.

75 Other shamans report that in case of a bewitchment by a
774 nyiç, the bewitched person and the members of his family slaughter
a pig and put a piece of each organ in a fiber bag. /286/ They
bring these to the shaman, together with brandy, coca and cigars.
The meat serves as bait for the soul of the sorcerer, for at the first
cockcrow, when all present are chewing coca, it comes to get the
bag. It falls into the hole dug under it, however. The shaman
immediately throws herbs into it, those present their chewed
packets of coca, and then the pit is covered up as quickly as

/286 cont./

75 possible. After his soul has thus been killed, the sorcerer, too,
774 must die.

754 The same type of soul-capture as is reported here by the *tęyu*
774 is also the most common method of evil sorcery practiced by the
nyiç. The *nyiç* digs a hole and stations himself above it, in order
to await the wandering soul of his victim. It is visible, like a
lighted candle. When it is over the hole, the *nyiç* gives it a
powerful blow with his staff, so that it falls into the hole. If it
is supposed to die very quickly, the *nyiç* throws strongly efficacious
herbs over it and covers the hole with graveyard soil. If not, he
754 has many possibilities of inflicting on the soul, and therefore on
774 his victim, injury that takes effect more slowly. If he sprinkles
824 the herb *baw* (Araceae) over it, the stomach of its owner becomes so
distended that he dies. If the *nyiç* sprinkles lime over the soul, the
person becomes blind. In the case of the poisonous herb *boračero*
(*Datura sp.*), the owner of the soul becomes insane; the stinging
smoke of the agave also produces insanity. Putting the leaves of
the *čuwét* (*Krameria ixina*?) and the soul together brings death.
The herbs *kaspi* (*Toxicodendron striatum* Kuntze), *lečero*
(*Euphorbia cotinifolia* L.), and *Pringamoza* also cause death.

f) The Sociological Aspect of Shamanism

182 Although the shamanistic ceremonies and the conceptions
756 underlying them are of a religious nature, nevertheless the
activity of the shaman is a definite sociological fact. Without
the activity of the *tęyu*, neither the family nor the village community can exist. It is only the shaman who, through his personal
abilities, is able to counteract the evil effects of the *nyiç*, the
tũs, *eč*, and *gělyómp* spirits and turn them into something good.
His activity, however, consists not only in the repulsion of what
has already appeared, in the healing of what has happened, but
his activity is also preventive, in fact, prophetic, for he predicts
future sicknesses or deaths. Moreover, no house construction,

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual
or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is
not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his
various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical
[726] traditions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they
successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several
times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder
will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white
revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the
mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading
to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is
behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the
village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's
staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil,
magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at
least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one
of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not
a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass
of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only
unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive
signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden
of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them
we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish,
helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity,
and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their
experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

/287 cont./

4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the
character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This
undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A
[173] similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it
[181] highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact,
521 it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to
522 get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing
192] house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own
great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in
his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The ab-
sence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the
American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (káčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (cíngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderéta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65
534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is
463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which
[824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The
322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different
tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I
acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical
drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with
skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[174] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves.
Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In
former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture
amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsẽ tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of
calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [84] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 173 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

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P /291 cont./

533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.
[177] Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the
borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
C 533 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 [462] The musicians are always men. They play the music as amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 [171] The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 114 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H. Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

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539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor
varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly
taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes
of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from
Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed
animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars.
[171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also
extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends
[776] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to
this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest
spirit (gělyómp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an
important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal
and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate
609 is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is
*539 primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the
[887] very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger.
The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could
609 surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old
*539 people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among
[554] the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano
had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

*539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

/293 cont./

*539 and even shut him up in a box. A second group of stories (Nos. 13-14) deals with tales about spirits, a third (Nos. 15-16) tales about Pijao, the feared man-eaters and dreadful enemies of the Paez. These are related to a certain extent to tales about werejaguars (Nos. 17-18). The remaining stories, which cannot be further classified, are given in the last group (Nos. 19-22). [114] In order to achieve a certain completeness, stories No. 1 and 2 about Juan Tama are given here as told by G. Bürg (p. 34) and G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953), respectively, and stories No. 4, 9, 10 as told by S. Bernal Villa ([illegible]) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

1. Juan Tama, the Water-born

The following remembrance of Juan Tama lives on among the Indians of Vitomcó: A long time ago there ruled in Vitomcó a female cacique who was childless and therefore always sad when she thought about who would follow her in power. One day when she was washing clothes at the confluence of the Rio Paez and a brook that comes from the Páramo de Moras (from the lagoon known today as Juan Tama), she saw in the water a floating piece of wood on which lay a small child. She fished it out, and, since it was a boy, she took him in, reared him, and, when he reached majority, made him cacique. This cacique -- known as Juan Tama today -- was very wise and strong and led his people against the Spaniards when the latter settled on the Magdalena [648] River. The last time he was seen on the Paez was in the great battle of San Vicente, where he and his troops succeeded in defeating the Spaniards. Since he had come floating on the water, he was not regarded as an ordinary human being, but rather it was assumed that he was sent to the cacique by her ancestors, or else that he descended directly from the gods who mated with the lagoon of Juan Tama, so that the latter is his mother. When Juan Tama saw that his people were victorious at San Vicente and no longer needed his protection, he disappeared again. He merely gave his sub-caciques orders and then went back to his mother, the Lagoon de Juan Tama, where he lives to this day and from where he directs the destinies of his Indians in Tierradentro.

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2. Juan Tama, Son of the Morning Star

One day when the morning star was shining particularly brightly -- so it is said among the Paez of Lame -- some people found a child in a ravine which since then has been called Ravine of Stars. This child was Juan Tama. They took him and brought him to a woman to rear. Juan Tama, however, sucked her milk so vigorously that it failed the woman. She therefore took him to another woman, but he did the same thing to her. The people therefore said that he could not be fed by a woman and gave him regular adult fare.

When he grew up, he married the cacique of Huila and became the chief of all the Indios. He instructed his people and ordered them to keep their land for themselves and not mix with the whites; then they would be invincible. When he felt death draw near, he went to the lagoon in the Páramo de Moras and sank under the water. He had come from there, he went back there. He had no heirs.

3. Llivan, the Shaman and Deliverer of the Paez

In former times the Pijao lived in Plata Vieja and came to Calderas each year to kill and to devour the people. They also destroyed the maize fields. The Calderun were very much afraid and did not know what to do. There were two men in Calderas, however, who were stronger than all the other men. They were Llivan and his brother. During a new attack by the Pijao, Llivan's brother was captured, whereas he himself was able to escape. The Pijao killed the brother and then skinned him, "like a cow," and cut the meat from the bones and devoured it. They then put the bones in the skin again and filled the skin with ashes in place of the flesh; then they sewed it together again, added a remedy (*yútsę*) to it and dressed the brother in his clothes and *ruana* and put his hat on him and sent him back to his brother. (Here the narrator explained: The Paez of today do not know the remedy used by the Pijao to bring the brother back to life. Nor

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is the word used today for any kind of remedy or medicine of their own shamans or of the white doctors. It refers to a remedy to restore the dead to life, which no longer exists today.) The remedy, however, is efficacious only until another person /295/ addresses the one who has been restored to life in this manner. Now when Llivan's brother approached his house, Llivan saw him first, called his mother's and sister's attention to him, and all three burst out of the house, and Llivan cried: "Why, here comes my brother; I thought that the Pijao had killed him." At these words the brother collapsed and lay there as a mere heap of dust with some skin and a few bones. Then Llivan, his mother, and his sister wept bitterly. Llivan said he could now no longer live in the house. He left it and went into the mountains, without eating salt or spice or meat, but he lived only on herbs. He traveled through the mountains for a long time in this fashion and suffered terrible hunger. He had to sleep at the foot of rocks. He walked along the bank of the Guacharaca brook and saw that the water was very dirty. He then decided to see who was making the water so dirty and, going upstream, found a tall, handsome man sitting and throwing stones into the brook. (In reply to my question as to whether that was what made the water so dirty, the narrator said: "I think that Llivan was a shaman; and since he had eaten nothing for such a long time, he was dreaming, and in reality the water was not dirty at all, but rather it merely looked dirty to him. And the other man, who in reality was Thunder, was also a shaman, and in this way it was possible that they met.")

When Llivan meets the man sitting by the brook, he comes nearer, without the other being aware of him. Only in the last minute does the other turn around and ask Llivan: "Why are you passing along here?" Llivan replied: "The Pijao killed our men and my brother and devastated the field." The man then asked: "Why do you not fight the Pijao, why are you so cowardly?" Llivan replied: "What shall I fight with, I have no weapon." Then the other said: "I have a sling which I shall lend you and with which you can fight." -- "But how am I supposed to fight with it?" asks Llivan. "I shall show you," answers the other man, who

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539 in reality was Thunder, "watch carefully!" And Llivan observed intently how Thunder took the sling, threw it high into the air, and how, as it fell down, there was a flash of lightning with a loud crash of thunder and wind and rain, so that the descending lightning split trees and almost killed them themselves. Then Thunder gave Llivan the sling, and Llivan likewise hurled it and produced the same effect. "Good," said Thunder, "you can handle it, it, take the sling and fight the Pijao with it. Guard it well, /296/ and when you have fought with it, I shall call you, and then you will come into my house which is up there."

Llivan went with the sling into the house of his mother, but did not show the sling to anyone. He put it in a pot and put a cover on it.

A week later the Pijao came as far as the region of Togoima and set out in the direction of Calderas. There was a vast number of Pijao. The people gathered in Llivan's house and were very much afraid. The mother and sister were also afraid. But Llivan said nothing. He neither said that they should be calm, since he would fight, nor did he say that he had a sling. And when the Pijao had come as far as Llivan's house, he sent his mother to fetch him the sling from the pot. The mother went, but saw only a green snake in the pot, no sling. Then she became very frightened and ran back to her son and said: "There is no sling in the pot, but only a large green snake, which I cannot lift out." "Nonsense," said Llivan, "bring me the sling that is in the pot; there is no snake in there." (Here the narrator explained that Llivan's mother could not see the sling, since she was not a shaman like her son.)

But the mother was afraid and did not go. Meanwhile the Pijao forced their way into the house, and Llivan himself went to the pot to take out the sling, which, in fact, was in there. Before he lifted it in order to hurl thunder and lightning down on the Pijao, he said to his mother and sister: "Crawl under the pot so that the Pijao will not devour you," but since he tossed the sling at the same instant, they no longer had time to protect themselves in this way, and the descending thunder and lightning killed all the Pijao and his mother and sister as well. Then he

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539 bent down to his mother and shouted into her ear with the voice of thunder, "Ooooh," whereupon she came back to life. And he did the same thing to his sister. Llivan then left the house in order to see how many Pijao were dead; he went as far as Togoima, holding a pair of scissors in one hand and a bag in the other, and cut off the earrings and necklaces of all the dead Pijao and gathered them up in his bag. Near Togoima he found a young Pijao who had not yet been killed sitting in a hole; he had a human leg that he was going to eat because he was hungry. "Ah," said Llivan, "you are not yet dead?" -- whereupon he hurled his lightning and killed this Pijao also.

[192] Then Llivan carried all the ornaments that he had taken off the Pijao /297/ into one of the underground prehistoric burial caves (kośtkaç) of the kind that the Paez do not use to bury their dead. This cave was located near a river, and after Llivan had put down the ornaments, the river rose and covered the burial site with the treasures.

Then Llivan returned to the house of his mother and said: "Now I have killed all the Pijao and none of them will ever come back. But now I can no longer live with you. Since I have killed so many Pijao, it is possible that I might kill you, too. I must therefore leave you. I bought myself a very beautiful house in the mountains and shall live alone from now on, but never die." His mother and sister both wept, but not he. Mother and sister offered to accompany him, but he declined. Then Llivan set out. His sister followed, in order to see where Llivan went, but Llivan was accompanied by the wind and therefore he went so fast that no one could follow him. The sister could only see that Llivan rose far behind into the air. Then it began to rain, and the clouds were very low, and Llivan fell down into the Hipendyk Lagoon. Thenceforth Llivan lived in the lagoon and became Thunder.

[115] Victoriano told me this detailed story after learning it from his father and his uncle. Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas told it to me in a similar way but much less completely.

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4. Juan Chiracol, the Son of the Jaguar

Juan Chiracol is descended from two mestiza girls who came down from the mountain Zenzepechi after they had to flee from the Pijao. They lived on potatoes and other field produce which they won from the mountain soil with great diligence and by means of their stone tools. One day they were surprised by the Pijao. They devoured one of the girls; the other remained behind alone.

After being embraced by a jaguar, she became pregnant and gave birth to Juan Chiracol. He was very intelligent. He knew of the sorrow that the Pijao had caused his mother. For that reason he fought against them until he had wiped out all of them. His mother made him accustomed to the presence of the jaguar, and the latter took care of his son Juan and brought him much meat from the mountains. When he was grown up, the jaguar disappeared.

/298/ Mother and son now settled among the Paez and began building a church. Juan Chiracol gave the Paez a great deal of advice. He warned them about selling land, for this was only for the Paez, he said, for whose safety he had fought against the Pijao. Then he told them that he was now going to the El Caspe lagoon and that he would never again return. When he grows angry, one hears him to this day, crying "uuuh."

The El Caspe lagoon lies far away on the border of Ata. It is supposed to be very malicious. It is believed that when a tree falls or a rock crashes down, it is Juan Chiracol who is thus announcing his displeasure. It is said that he is not interested in women; that is why there are no descendants from him.

5. Chauté Transforms Human Beings into Animals

Chauté caused much harm, and that is why human beings took him far away, to the place where the sun rises. This happened in the following way: In olden times there were only human beings. Chauté, however, made animals out of human beings by saying:

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you are now such and such! The chiguaco was formerly a sacristan because he can pray well; the chicao was able to whistle well, and the chachalaca was formerly a great gossip. The rabbit was formerly a very deceitful person; today when the dog chases it, it -- maliciously -- does not let itself be caught, but dodges about all the time.

The carpenter was able to make large boxes, so large that one could put a human being inside. He promised Chauté that he would present him with a large box. When he had finished building it, he showed it to Chauté, and the latter lay down in it, in order to see whether it was large enough. The carpenter closed the lid, and to prevent Chauté from getting out and causing further harm, he carefully nailed it shut. Chauté begged the carpenter to let him out, but he did not open the box. He begged him at least to cut two holes into the lid so that he could see something. The carpenter took his chisel and made a nice hole, and as he was about to make the second, his tool slipped and knocked out one of his eyes. "I will be blind!" he cried, but as he said this he saw trees and only more trees and nothing else. He had turned into a woodpecker and from then on only chisels holes in trees with his beak and raises his young in them. Chauté, however, remained in the box. And when he moves around in it, the earth trembles.

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6. Chauté Causes the Rio Paez to Form

A man named Chauté walked along a road for a very long way as far as the páramo. He was very thirsty, but he had no water. Then he came upon a swamp in the mountains. He looked for a tube similar to the kind from which flutes are made, stuck it into the swamp, and sucked up water with it, until he had enough. Before that the water had no outlet, but now it followed Chauté as he went on. The latter asked himself why it was coming after him, and he started to run. But the water followed him. Frightened, he climbed a tree. The water remained at his feet and formed a large lake, without running off on any side. So the man climbed down

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539 again, and the water followed him again. Then Chauté ran very fast. The water remained somewhat behind; in order to avoid being overtaken, Chauté now ran zigzag. Since that time the river at La Plata has had many bends. He ran on in this fashion for a whole day. When he grew very tired, he let himself fall into the large river (Magdalena River). Since that time the Rio Paez empties there.

7. Chauté Punishes San Tomás

A man named San Tomás turned himself into a bird similar to a carrion vulture. Then he always devoured the bodies and entrails of dead horses. Each time he asked his nephew, the black woodpecker, for permission. But the latter refused it, since his own teeth were not good enough to devour bodies. San Tomás, however, had such good teeth that he could devour everything. One day there came a man named Chauté. He was very envious of San Tomás because he ate so much meat, as well as entrails, eyes, and tongue. In order to punish San Tomás, he turned himself into a dead horse. San Tomás came and thought it was an ordinary horse and began to eat it. When he stuck his head into the belly of the dead horse, Chauté pulled his belly together and held San Tomás fast. The latter almost died and could only weakly flap his wings. Then Chauté opened his belly a little so that San Tomás could pull out his head. He was very battered, his eyes were swollen, and he had a bad headache. He had to tie a cloth around his head and went home.

Thereupon Chauté turned himself back into a human being and set out to visit San Tomás. "I have wonderful /300/ meat," he told San Tomás in greeting, but the latter merely shook his head and said: "Do not talk so much, I have a headache and cannot eat." Then Chauté went away again.

8. Chauté Turns Human Beings into Stones

On another day Chauté turned himself into a comb and lay down on the road. A woman came along, picked up the comb, and stuck it in her bag. After she had gone on for a while, she looked

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539 in vain for the comb that she had found; it had disappeared. Then when she had gone on a short distance, she met a small child. It asked the woman for a bit of sugar cane from her fiber bag. But since it was only a child, she refused. "Then you shall be stone," said the child, who in reality was Chauté. Since then the woman has been a stone.

On another occasion Chauté did something similar. On a festive day when the people had a great deal of meat, Chauté came along, transformed as a small child, and asked the adults for some meat. "You will get nothing, there is barely enough for the adults," said the people, "in that case children get nothing." "Well, then you shall be stone," said the child, and the human beings turned into stones.

9. The Visit of the Young Stranger

One day a young man came to Calderas, to live on one of the mountain ranges of the place. A girl visited him very often. Her mother scolded her for that, but she told her that a snake drew wild pigeons from the twigs of the bushes and that she was going to gather them. Soon the girl had a child, a son, from whose body a type of worm came out. His young mother gave instructions that these were not to be touched or pulled out, because they were connected with the life of her child.

One day she went to the field and stayed somewhat longer. Her child, which she had left at home, woke up, and when its grandmother took it in her arms, she noticed the worms. Filled with disgust, she pulled them all out. The child died after that.

When the mother of the child came back, she lamented its death and threw herself weeping into the nearby lagoon. She did not drown, however, but merely disappeared into it. In the same manner the young man disappeared into it, /301/ in order to live with her in the lagoon. The mother of the girl in the lagoon succeeded in persuading a shaman to perform magic. He took the cloths used by a menstruating woman and, together with herbs, tossed them into the middle of the lagoon. The young man and the girl then left the lagoon in a black cloud and went to Santa Rosa.

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The lagoon in Calderas dried up. A few embankments on the meadows today are the remains.

10. How Thunder Kidnapped the Women

Once upon a time a man had a potato field in Pueblito. When he went there one day to harvest it, he met an old, ugly man with a big hat plaited out of twigs. The man glanced around and noticed that the old one came from a fallen tree. The old one asked whether there had already been a harvest. The owner answered that he had harvested a few potatoes. The old one then asked the man to lease him a piece of land, so that they could harvest together. The owner did not agree to this, but said that instead he had other large fields that he could lease. The old one insisted, however, that he work together with the owner. They sat down to talk about it, but they could not reach an agreement.

Suddenly, a thick, black cloud came up, and it began to rain hard. The people ran into the field hut to protect themselves, but the rain came in nevertheless. The old one followed them, but remained outside and sat down on a tree trunk. The people noticed with amazement that the rain could not do him any harm. They invited him to come in, but he refused. The water now rose higher and higher, so that the people ran away. But the old one kidnapped the women. The shamans found out later that the old one had been Thunder.

According to another narrator, the story happened in the following way: An old woman was harvesting a potato field with four other members of her family. Suddenly a cloudburst set in. The youngest girl ran up the slope of the field, and when she looked around, the potato field with the people in it had turned into a lagoon. The little girl saw from above how an old man with a *ruana* and a large hat plaited out of twigs came and kidnapped the people.

11. How the People Drove away Thunder

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Once upon a time Thunder lived in Calderas, and his wife as well. Besides his wife, however, he also had a mistress. She lived in Santa Rosa, where the Bugta lagoon is now. He had a daughter by his mistress and very fine property with fine, cultivated fields. In Calderas, however, Thunder had angered the people because he had kidnapped a woman and her daughter by placing a lasso on the road. The Calderun, therefore, put poison in a gourd and threw it into the lagoon. Thunder was obliged to leave it for that reason, and since that time the lagoon has dried up.

He then went with his wife to Santa Rosa. Since there was not yet a lagoon there, however, he caused it to rain hard over the site of the present lagoon, so that the water gathered in a small area and kept rising higher. When the water had filled the entire basin, Thunder was able to live in it with his wife and his mistress. But upon the people of Santa Rosa, too, Thunder inflicted all kinds of injury. Thus, one day, he devoured a cow belonging to the people of Santa Rosa. The people grew very angry at this and built a drainage ditch in order to dry up the lagoon. Thunder then begged forgiveness, however, and the people left him alone after that, until he again did harm. Then the shamans of Santa Rosa threw poisonous herbs into the water, just as the Calderun had done, so that Thunder was obliged to leave this lagoon, too. Since then he has been living in Barbacoa where there is likewise a lagoon. The wife of Thunder, however, is still in the lagoon of Santa Rosa. The old shaman Felisa has visited her, as well as Thunder himself when he sometimes comes back. Both of them look like Paez, are very well dressed, and wear exactly the same costume as the other Paez.

12. The Battle between Thunder and the Stars

When the shaman Felisa was still very young, she one day set bird traps along the enclosure around the lagoon and caught many birds in them. One day, as she was doing this, she met Thunder. He was very angry. He was, in fact, a bad man who muddied all the water of the lagoon by having thrown many trees into the water.

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539 Now, among the stars there is a special kind called pũšves, which could not endure Thunder. They plunged down from the sky into the lagoon in order to cleanse it. To annoy Thunder they had almost drained the lagoon. Thunder was very angry at this. /303/ In his rage he roared so dreadfully that he opened his mouth up to his ears and his whole tongue hung out. Then the pũšves became frightened and descended to the bottom of the lagoon where Thunder had his house and asked him why he roared so loudly. "Because of you, of course!" he replied. But then he asked the pũšves to forgive him because he needed the lagoon in order to live, and the stars then forgave him. But he had to promise not to roar so loudly any more. Then they gave him a remedy, whereupon his mouth grew together again into a small, normal aperture. [821] The stars then returned to the sky, where they still are. They differ from the other stars in that they move in the sky.

13. The Rolling Head

A man from Palma came to Calderas to visit a shaman. This visit lasted until two o'clock at night, at which time he left Calderas to return to Palma. On the road he came upon a stone on which lay a human head, probably that of a Pijao. First he saw only the teeth flash white in the darkness. Since the man from Palma had a staff with him, he knocked the head off the stone with the words, "why are you grinning here on the stone like an ear of maize?" The head fell down and rolled into a brook. The Palma man became frightened at this and ran on his way. But the head left the brook and hurried after the man, whistling constantly. The man ran faster and faster, and since the road was very steep, he was soon unable to run any longer. The man thereupon took tobacco in his hands and caught the head with his ruana and threw it in a wide arc back into the brook. He then hurried on until he came to a very tall tree which he climbed rapidly and hid in the topmost peak. Meanwhile the head left its brook bed by an underground passage and again followed the man, but since the latter was in the tree, the head could not see him and

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539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

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The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

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(No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

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15. Encounters with the Pijao

A young Paez man was working for a rich landowner on the latter's finca in the Cauca Valley somewhere near Popayán. The finca was near the mountain. One day he went into the mountains, since his master had a great deal of livestock. On the way he met a Pijao woman, who seized him and carried him to her house in order to devour him. There were many people in her house, and since she wanted to devour him by herself and not share him with the many other Pijao, /305/ she put him in a large pot. This was as large as a Paez house. She left him there for three days. During this time the Pijao drank, ate, and danced. After three days, when all the Pijao were tired and asleep, the woman went into the mountains to fetch wood and make a fire, in order to roast the Paez youth. The latter meanwhile looked out from the vessel in which he was imprisoned and saw two small girls on the hearth stones, the daughters of the woman. They were playing and nudging the drunken and sleeping Pijao, who, however, did not stir. The youth quickly climbed out of his vessel, took a piece of wood, and killed the two girls. He quickly seized a pot of gold and ran away.

When the woman returned to her house with sufficient wood, she found her two children dead. She immediately looked into the pot, and when she did not find the Paez youth in it, she became furious and quickly ran after him. The young man ran for three hours until he met a large herd of cattle belonging to his master, where he hid in the midst of the cattle. The woman tried to pursue him, but since she smelled so badly the cattle became wild, roared and kicked the woman, and she was unable to seize the youth. (The narrator explained that the Pijao are not familiar with cattle and dogs. If a dog and a Pijao meet, the dog kills [827] the Pijao on the spot. The Pijao smell entirely different from other human beings, somewhat like animals.) Now, when the woman was unable to reach the Paez, she was furious and scratched her head with its many lice. But she could do nothing, and she therefore went back to her house and devoured her own two dead children.

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539 The Paez youth could now go to the house of his master, and he showed him the pot of gold and reported his experience. He gave the gold to his master. The latter gave him a great deal of meat to eat and also gave him a fine bed to sleep in. When the youth lay down in it, he died.

[781] [825] [763] Comment of the narrator: A Paez who has an encounter with a Pijao or a jaguar may report this to people after half a year at the earliest, or, still better, not until a year later. If he does so earlier, he must die, as the following story, too, shows.

A Pijao met two Paez men in the mountains, one of whom was very ugly and dirty and the other very clean and handsome. The Pijao killed the clean one and devoured him on the spot. He first wanted to wash the ugly and dirty one and therefore went to a brook with him. The dirty Paez man, however, could swim, /306/ dived into the water, and swam away. The Pijao man, like all Pijao, was unable to swim and threw stones and earth into the water, but nothing helped. The Paez man was able to escape. Then the Pijao, very sad, remained behind on the shore. The dirty Paez went to his house and told his family about his experience, and then he, too, had to die.

16. The Paez with the Ax

A Pijao went into the mountains to catch birds. For this he used a stick smeared with a substance similar to glue, with which he touched the birds so that they remained stuck to it. He did this for many years. One day he came to the house of a Paez, whose owner, however, was not there. In the house lay only an ax (as the narrator added: made of iron, for the Pijao are not familiar with any kind of tools, neither knife nor axes. To prepare their fields for planting, they can only split the bark of trees with stones, whereupon they dry in the course of a year. After this time the Pijao plant their maize on the field with dead trees standing on it. Thus, since they have no machetes to fell trees, they cannot lay out proper burned-off fields, like the Paez, although they are acquainted with fire.)

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539 The Pijao was very much astonished over the ax in the Paez house. He did not touch it, but wanted to own it. The next day he came back and met the owner and asked him to sell him the ax. But the Paez did not want to. (The Paez man and the Pijao man were able to talk to each other and to understand each other well, the narrator explained, for in former times they both had the same language.) The Pijao then offered a whole pot of gold for the ax. He would, of course, have to fetch it from the house of the Pijao. The Paez agreed, and so the two set out together for the village of the Pijao. Since the latter, like all Pijao, was unclothed, to be sure, but much taller than the Paez, he took him on his shoulder and carried him to his village. In one hand he had the ax, with which, along the way, he would cut down a tree with only one blow. Like all Pijao, he had uncanny strength.

[651] Having arrived in the village, there were no people present, since it was minga day /see "Minga" in the glossary, p. 249/, a day on which the whole village is obliged to take part in joint work (road or bridge building). The Pijao with the Paez man went into his house, in which only his mother was present, and he /307/ asked her not to divulge anything to anyone, for this Paez was not to be devoured, as was done otherwise. For if the other Pijao knew that there was a Paez in this house, they would want to devour him. Mother and son, therefore, dug a hole in a corner of the hut, put the Paez in it, and covered it with a large wooden bowl. In the evening many Pijao came to this house and talked and drank, until suddenly several Pijao discovered that there was such a pleasant Paez fragrance there. The mother of the house answered that what was so fragrant was not a Paez, but her own stench. They all laughed. Then they went on eating and became drunk on chicha and started to dance. A Pijao man made the music with his transverse flute, while the women beat time on their breasts. (The Pijao women all have long pendulous breasts.)

The Pijao danced for three days and three nights in a row, without sleeping. Then they all fell asleep. The whole house was full of the dancers. They snored like pigs; only the Pijao who had brought the Paez and his mother were not asleep. They

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took the Paez out of his hiding place and led him to a room that was completely filled with gold. Here the Paez was permitted to pick out what he wanted. He took a clay pot and filled it completely full of gold and stuck it into his fiber bag. Then the Pijao took him on his shoulder again and carried him back to his house in the forest on the mountain. Not until a year later did he dare tell the other Paez that he had gold, and he distributed it among the people of the village.

Comment of the narrator: The Pijao always had a great deal of gold that they took out of a lagoon filled with water. In order to do this they had to throw a boy or a young man on the shore of the lagoon into the water, and immediately all the water flowed to this point and devoured the youth. The lagoon then became completely dry for a short time, and the Pijao were able to take the gold from the bottom of the lagoon with pots. Whenever they wanted gold, they had to sacrifice a boy to the water in this way. And they did it often, for the Pijao were immeasurably rich in gold.

17. The Human Jaguar Who Wanted to Steal the Gold Staff of a Pijao

A man who was a human jaguar went hunting in the mountains of the *páramo*. While he was resting on the mountain, a Pijao came along who was a member of low rank of the *cabildo*. He had a very beautiful /308/ staff made of gold. He stuck it into the ground. Without seeing the human jaguar, he stacked wood in a pile, drew fire out of his armpit, and lighted the wood. Then he fetched bananas and a snake and began to roast them. *Tsẽ*, hissed the snake.

Meanwhile the human jaguar considered how he might steal the gold staff. He turned himself into a jaguar, and with a knife that he carried in his hand he leaped upon the Pijao in order to rob him of his staff. The Pijao, however, interrupted his meal, took his staff, and ran off. The staff was very heavy, but he did

* /308 cont./

539 not let go of it. The human jaguar ran after him. He almost killed the Pijao, but the latter did not let go of his staff. They ran in this fashion for three hours, until they came to a rock near which the Pijao lived. There the jaguar turned himself into a human being again and sat down. The Pijao, however, descended to his village, which lay on a great plain. He went into his house. Then the Pijao came running to catch the supposed jaguar. The latter again turned himself from a human being into a jaguar and ran away from the Pijao. For three full hours he ran, back to the place where the Pijao had been roasting the bananas and the snake. Both were still there, as well as the fiber bag. The snake was only half cooked. The human jaguar sat down and ate up everything. In the afternoon he went back to his house again and also took the bag along to show it to his wife. After he had knocked, he entered *539 754 his house. (In connection with this the narrator remarked: The human jaguar was probably an evil shaman, because formerly they were able to turn themselves into jaguars in order to steal cattle and sheep. Then, when they returned to their houses, they turned themselves back into human beings. Today, however, no one is able to turn himself into a jaguar any more. To do this, one needs a special remedy (yutse), which looks like a caterpillar. It may be obtained in the Cauca Valley, but nobody knows where.)

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18. The Duel between the Human Jaguar and the Mountain Jaguar

On a mountain there was a jaguar who robbed the people of all their animals. It stole chickens, turkeys, foals, cattle. It always came down from the mountain and devoured these animals. The people were therefore very angry. One day six men set out to kill the jaguar. They had with them many dogs and many guns. They found the jaguar on the mountain, but it devoured all the dogs and filled the people with terror. They therefore returned in the afternoon, very /309/ sad and without dogs. They now had no more dogs to go hunting another day. So the next day they went to a man who was known to be very strong and asked him:

/309 cont./

539 "Why do you not go with us? Why are you so cowardly?" This man, however, was a human jaguar. He could turn himself into a jaguar, and he decided to kill the mountain jaguar. He did not tell the people, of course, that he could turn himself into a jaguar, but rather he simply said that he was willing to kill the jaguar.

The next morning he set out very early, armed with only his machete. The other men wanted to accompany the human jaguar, but he said: "Just stay here, you are of no use anyway." The human jaguar then departed without his dog, armed only with his knife. At about eight o'clock the jaguar man was in the mountains and came upon the mountain jaguar asleep. The man then turned himself into a jaguar, let his claws grow, and began to knock over bushes and trees, as though he had an ax in his hands. When he had sharpened his claws well in this way, he began to roar loudly. The mountain jaguar awoke and got up, furious. They both went to an open spot and began at first merely to play. But the mountain jaguar did not want to play and immediately started to fight in earnest. They then fought wildly for about three hours. Then the mountain jaguar was able to wound the human jaguar. Since the latter, however, had merely played at first, he had more strength at the end and was able to kill the [154] mountain jaguar. (Narrator's comment: The human jaguar is always stronger than the mountain jaguar, because the former eats salt.) The human jaguar then turned himself back into a human being, and with his machete, which he had brought along, he cut off the four feet of the mountain jaguar and put them in his bag. He set up the animal's body, however, as though the jaguar were still alive, the head turned downward in the direction of the village of the human beings.

The human jaguar now went back to the village as a human being and told his wife and the people that he had killed the jaguar of the mountains. "I have killed the mountain jaguar, go and see whether it is so."

The next day the people set out and went into the mountains to see whether the jaguar was really dead. They took along guns

* /309 cont./

539 and dogs. They had provided themselves with the latter from somewhere else. They came to where the battle had taken place. But, instead of a dead jaguar, they found a living one that was about to pounce on them. The people then became terribly frightened. They nevertheless gradually went closer, and since the jaguar continued to stand there with closed /310/ eyes, without moving, the people went still closer and discovered that it no longer had any feet at all. Then they saw that it was already dead and carried it to the valley, to their houses.

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19. How Human Beings Obtained Fire

An old woman possessed fire. One day a little girl came to her to ask for a firebrand. But the woman gave her only a few small chips which went out on the way, before the child reached home. She went back to ask the old woman for a fresh firebrand, but this, too, did not last until she reached home. Again the girl came back. This time, however, the old woman was not at home. Inside the house, however, a large heap of wood was burning. The girl took a large, burning branch and ran away. At this moment the old woman returned, saw the child, and ran after the girl in order to take the firebrand away from her. The latter, terrified, threw it into a pile of dry straw. The people, who until then had not known fire, fetched their fire from here. Since then the place has been called ipikwe = "fire mountain."

This story is told in different versions. According to one, the old woman always distributed fire to the people, and when one day she did not want to do it any more, she let her fire go out and disappeared with a glowing firebrand. The people noticed it, however, and pursued her. When the old woman realized that she was being overtaken, she hid the firebrand beside the road and disappeared in the river. Through the smoke, however, the people found the fire and shared it among themselves and possessed it from then on.

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372 In another version, the old woman always drew fire out of her armpit when the people asked her for it. When the missionaries came, they declared fire to be magic and demanded that it be blessed, or else she would have to surrender it. The old woman, however, neither wanted to have it blessed nor did she want to give it up, and she therefore fled. As she ran, she was caught by the flames, and when they enveloped her, she leaped into the river.

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20. The Girl Who Turned Herself into a Snake

One day a small child who was the daughter of Thunder came forth out of a spring. The people took her in, and a married couple offered to bring her up. One day when the priest came into the village to read the Mass, all the people went to church, as did the foster /311/ parents of the little foundling. The little child wanted to go along. Since she had no clothes, however, the parents did not take her with them. When they had gone, the child followed, dressed only in a poor piece of cloth, to take part in the Mass, too. The parents were already in the church when the child came to a brook and turned herself into a snake. The latter grew and grew and was soon as large as the rainbow. It slithered its way to the church, which was full of people, encircled the entire structure with its body, and stuck its head in the door. It devoured all the people, with the exception of its foster parents, whom it allowed to escape. Then it stretched itself up to heaven in order to devour the Virgin Mary besides. When its head was quite high, two eagles came flying up and bit it in two. It fell to the ground, dead. A man then came along with a mula, cut up the snake, and loaded the parts on his mula and took them far away. There it probably rotted.

But after that there were snakes in all regions. One above all stank abominably when the sun stood warm in the sky. It kidnapped the people in the surrounding fields and devoured them. They therefore asked an Englishman to kill the snake. He came and hung in a tree a large fiber bag, into which he put a human being

/311 cont./
as bait. When the snake came to devour the human being, he cut off its head and tail with a saber. The head flew through the air in a wide arc and landed at a place called Ulnenga. The tail flew to another place, called Luto, where many snakes are still found to this day.

21. The Slain Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Arise

An old woman of the type of people who are called õho, man-eaters, and who are either men or women, but always very old, and have very large faces, went into the village of Calderas to kidnap children whom she wanted to devour. There were many people there with their children. She told people that she loved children very much, and the people entrusted their children to her, to have her watch over them. She always devoured the children, however. One day the people gathered together and decided to kill the old woman. She lived in a remote house. The people carried much wood to it, piled it up along the walls until it reached the roof, and set fire to it. The house burned, and with it the old woman. Shortly before her death she spoke the following words: "From my heart will arise potatoes, /312/ gourds, and onions." With that she died. Half a year later, at the place where she died, there was a field with the crops mentioned, which had not been known before. The potatoes, as well as the other crops, were very large, and when the people cut them up, they found, in the middle of the potatoes and the gourds, a drop of blood.

22. The Stolen Eyes

A man lived in his house on the mountain and had stored in the loft of the house a great many potatoes to set out in the field. One day, when the owner was away, a thief came, took down a few potatoes, kindled the fire, and roasted them in it. Then he went away again. He did this many times, and the owner was getting very angry because he had fewer and fewer potatoes. Once

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearthstones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] [621] [177] [197] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the elements of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/313 cont./

105 settlement. At the same time, however, we must certainly confirm a cultural impoverishment, considerable in some respects, among these people who outwardly seem quite prosaic and matter-of-fact.

105 143 144 Anthropologically they belong to the American Centraloid /zentraliden/ race (v. Eichstedt /see the bibliography in the foreign text, pp. 323-327, for this and the following references/) with a striking predominance of blood group 0. Although the latter fact is only one component of the somatic picture, it is extremely interesting to find a predominance of this blood group among a large number of American natives. Among the Paez there are 88.78%, among the neighboring Guambiano 84.25% (Lehmann, Duque y Fornaguera, p. 200), among the natives of Caldas 92.25% (Duque, 1944, p. 626), among the Sibundoy 84.42%, among the Santiagos 94.23% (Paez-Perez y Freudenthal, p. 413), and among the Pijao the blood group 0 is almost 100% (Reichel, 1944, p. 517). These investigations of Colombian tribes agree with a more comprehensive picture. According to the analysis of G. Arcila Velez (p. 11), 80.6% of the people among the Eskimo are of blood group 0, 91.3% among the pure North American Indians, 72.7% among the Navajo, 97.7% among the Yucatecans, 79% among the Mataco, and 100% among the Guarani of the Rio Grande do Sul.

105 [361] The form of settlement of the Paez in the deeply fissured mountainous region of Tierradentro is the loose arrangement of individual family-farms on the mountain slopes, as far from neighbors as possible. The village settlement-area is geographically invariable and embraces the natural area of the dwellings and the land used within a valley basin. The house, as the family focus and social center for one family in each case, is built on the family's own land. It is used -- depending on the type of construction -- for a harvest period or for ten to 15 years. The land belongs to the family that first cleared it. Besides this there is community land for the free use of all members of the village. The interior of the normally /314/ hip-roofed rectangular houses is divided into two rooms, one of which serves as the kitchen and living room, the other as a storage room.

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atç," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotç," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eš and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/314 cont./
105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[412] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/
of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not
familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not
fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain
fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees
with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we
find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place
as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February
dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year.
This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[231] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the
three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán,
Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[411] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive
weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

/315 cont./
105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we
have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way
of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians
as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions
are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by
assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[851] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the
[533] father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any
kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/316 cont./

105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu-
[177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America.
[784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) among the Paez. He
[224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

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105 771 756 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 [197] [194] Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages, in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 114 197 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./
105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely inadequate
197 material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated
have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently
complete material available from the few living ones. Even the
true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been
spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the
literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical
method for their language comparison. The total
vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words.
These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for
true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in
northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and
dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the
procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language
A and language B, another agreement between language B and
language C, a further agreement between language C and language
D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualitative
197 significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a
complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals,
useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations,
etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not
possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent
this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom
there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be
discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua
/Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close
proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Grammatical
197 agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical
differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

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P /319 cont./
105 concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language
197 cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements
may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of
a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that
in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista
considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken
place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today
are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up
C from other tribes only after the Conquista.

P
105 Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with
P Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by
[197] H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an
E uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces
[361] completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settle-
P C ments on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas
[241] the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha,
[412] with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in com-
P C [323] parison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of
P the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far
[325] above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do
P C any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon;
[411] among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the
P C Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a
[771] pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we
find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among
the Paez, only shamans.

C
105 Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha lan-
P C guage group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however,
197 should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the
same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with
/320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race,
or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order
not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group
which is completely different from it, the language group should
have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

1: Nachtigall--247 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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105 /320 cont./

P C what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum.

197 Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P

105 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the

172 archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager

174 material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

/320 cont./
105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a
larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the
archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the
archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the
Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki
/Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time
of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological
culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

104

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

/321 cont./

Conquista	Period of the Spanish conquest.
Conquistador	Spanish conqueror at time of the discovery of America.
Finca	Plantation farm or estate for the growing of coffee, sugar cane, bananas, etc.
Gobernador	Spanish head of the administration of a province. Among the Paez, the head of the village council.
Guaquero	Pirate excavators of prehistoric, Indian burial sites.
/322/	
Hacienda	Large country estate in Tierradentro.
Kazike [114]	(Cacique) West Indian designation for the chief of a village or native tribe, used by Spaniards as a general designation for native chiefs within their area of authority. The translation "*Fürst*"/prince/ used in the literature in German is misleading.
Lagoon	Lake, pond.
Machete	Bush knife, long chopping knife.
Milpa System	Central American designation for periodic tillage on previously burned-off clearings; called *roza* in Colombia, *wáts* among the Paez.
Minga	System of free joint work by the village.
Municipio	In Tierradentro a number of villages, somewhat like our administrative district.
Nyiç	Evil shaman, evil sorcerer.
Panela	Boiled-down sugar-cane juice. Transported and traded in the form of bars of about half a kilogram each. Customary form of sugar consumption among the Colombian rural population.
Páramo	High steppe. General designation for the crests of the Cordilleras.
Parcialidád	In Tierradentro: village with the lands belonging to it.
Poncho	Sleeveless cloak of the Andean Indians in the form of a rectangular or square blanket with a hole for the head. Called *ruana* in Colombia.

/322 cont./

104

Roza	Colombian burned-off field. Cf. "Milpa."
Ruana	Colombian designation for poncho.
Shaman	Popularly: medicine man. The Paez distinguish between evil shamans (nyic) and good ones (teyu). The former kidnap souls, bring sickness or death. The latter, as adversaries of the nyic, are doctors in the spiritual realm.
Tafĩ	Soul, which can leave a person in his sleep.
Tama	Ceremonial staff of the shaman.
Teyu	Paez designation for the good shaman.
Trapiche	Sugar mill.
Tumba	Large, underground grave-chamber.
ũns	Soul that leaves the person at death.

ccc

/The bibliography, pp. 323-327, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

1: Nachtigall--251 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

I

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102
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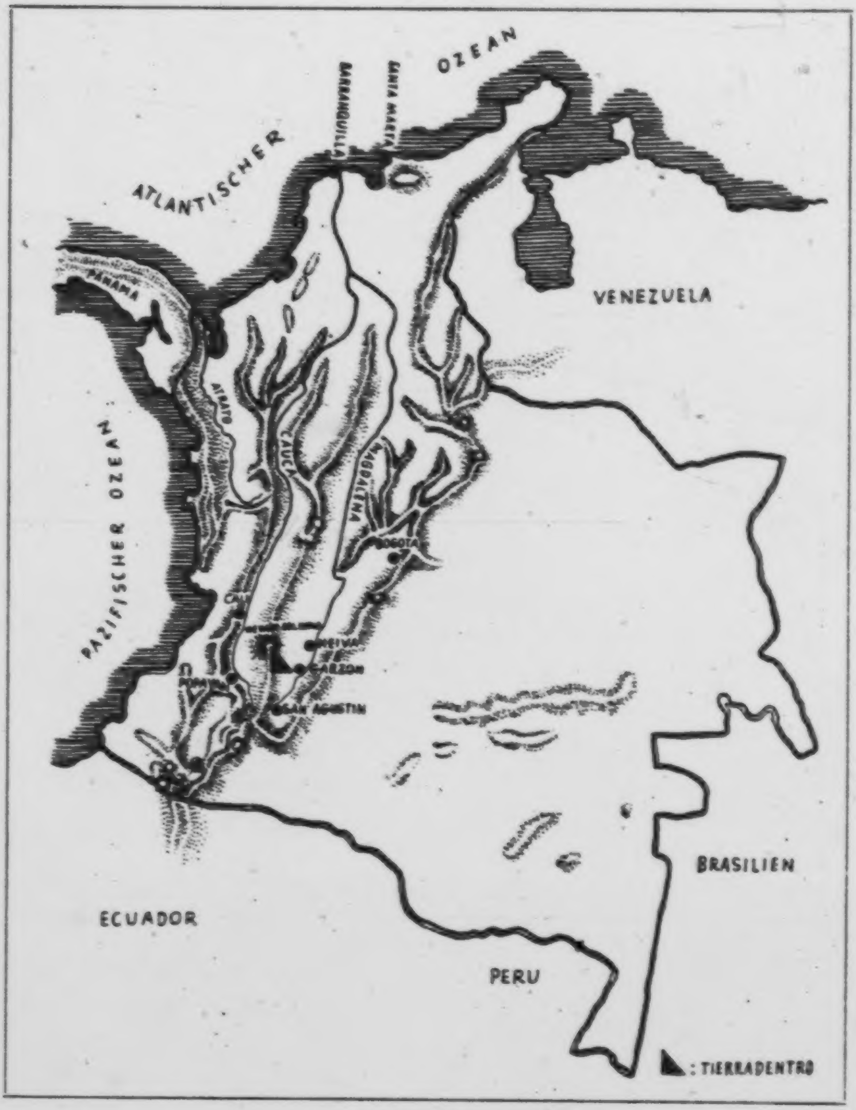
ATLANTISCHER
OZEAN
BARRANQUILLA
SANTA MARTA
PANAMA
VENEZUELA
ATRATO
CAUCA
MAGDALENA
BOGOTA
CALI
NEIVA
GARZON
POPAYAN
SAN AGUSTIN
PAZIFISCHER OZEAN
ECUADOR
PERU
BRASILIEN
: TIERRADENTRO

1. Colombia 1/1

1/1 [more lengthy descriptions of each figure and illustration in this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 295-303--

1: Nachtigall--252 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

II

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103
131
133
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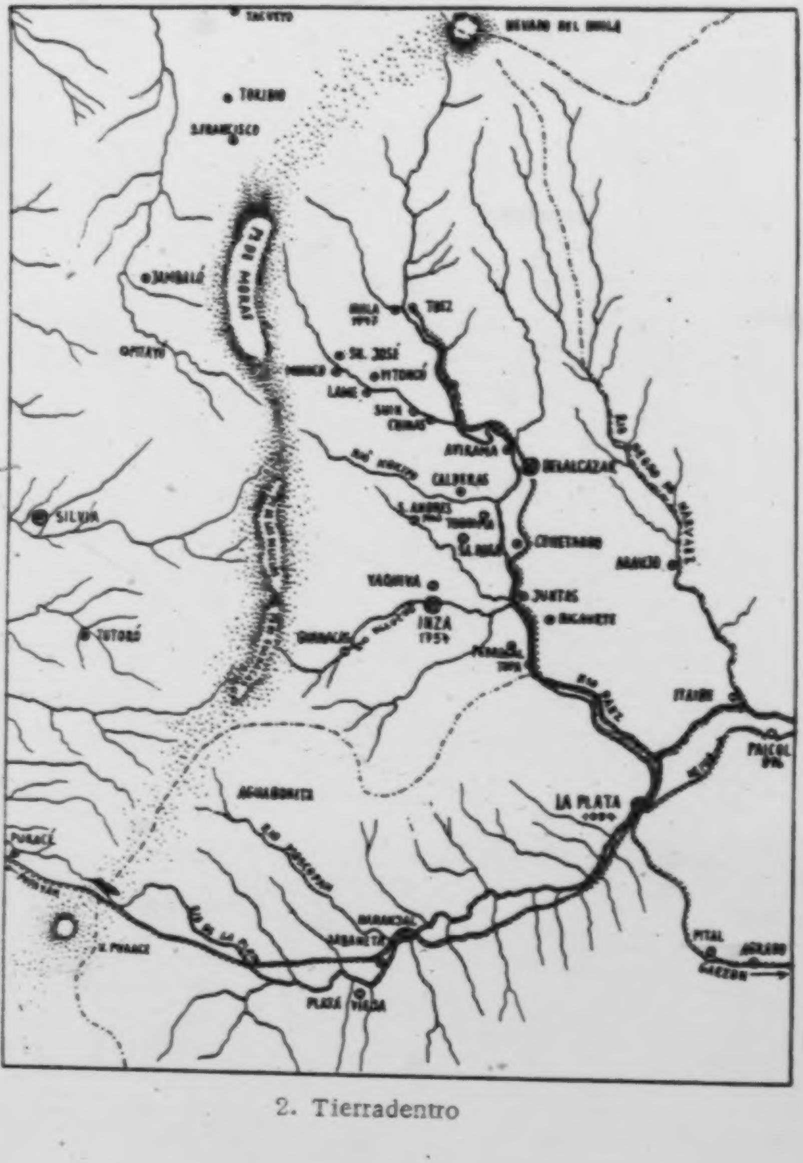
NEVADO DEL HUILA
TORIBIO
S.FRANCISCO
JAMBALÓ
SILVIA
TOTORÓ
HUILA
TOEZ
SN. JOSÉ
VITONCÓ
LAME
AVIRAMA
BELALCAZAR
CALDERAS
S. ANDRES
COHETANDO
YAGUIVA
INZA
1754
GUANACAS
JUNTAS
RIO PAEZ
ITAIBE
PAICOL
LA PLATA
AGUABONITA
PURACÉ
PITAL
AGRADO
GARZON
PLATA
VIEJA

2. Tierradentro

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[413]
[283]

[284]

XI

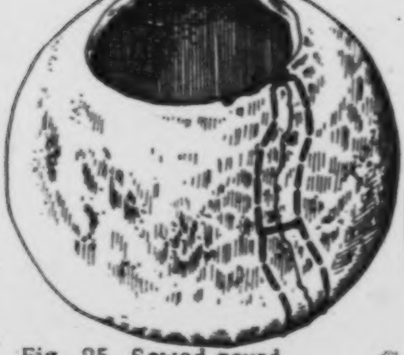

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

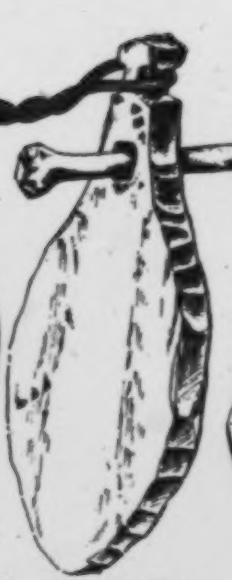

Fig. 26. Klafika.

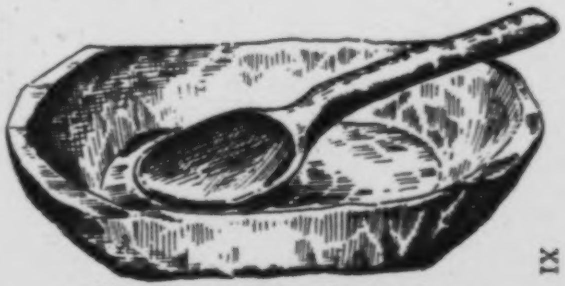

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

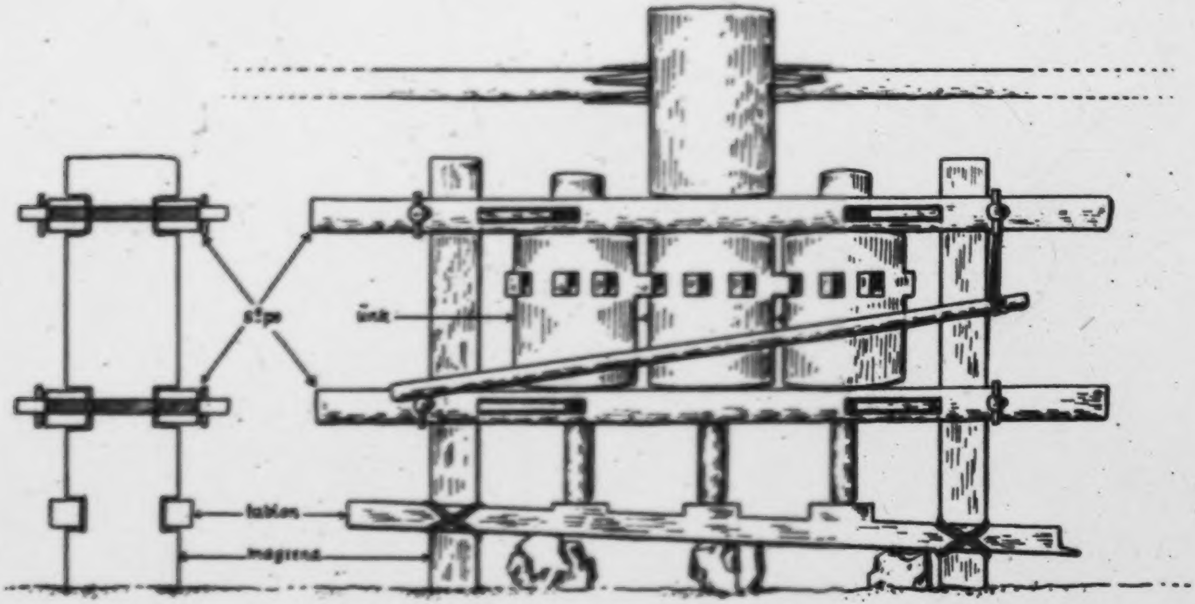
sipe
ũsa
tablon
magrend

Fig. 28. Sugar mill.

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407

1: Nachtigall--254 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

XII

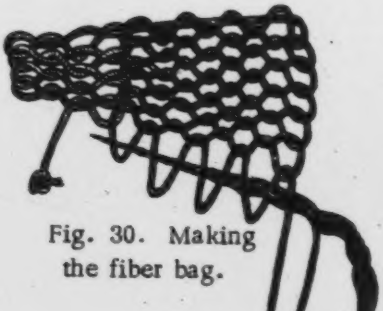

Fig. 30. Making the fiber bag.

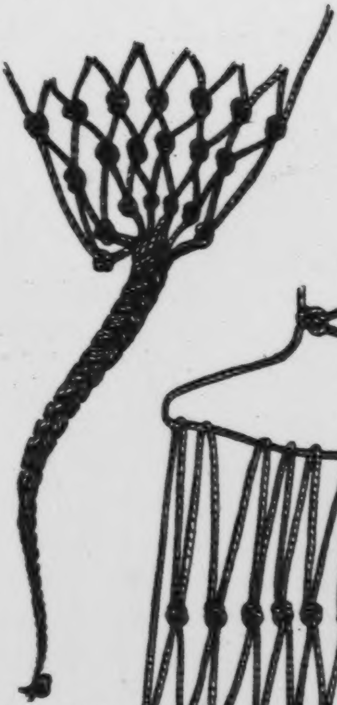

Fig. 29. Making the sling.

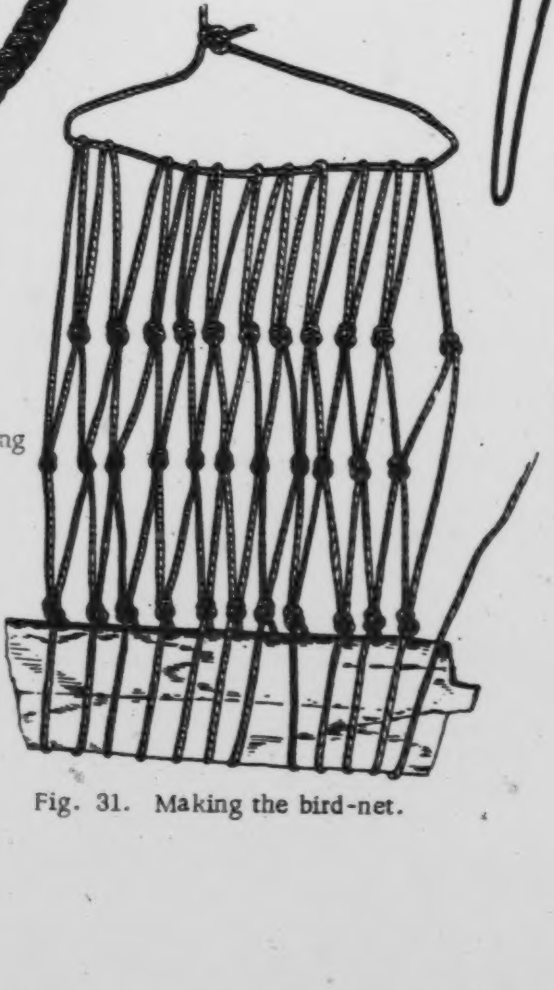

Fig. 31. Making the bird-net.

XIV

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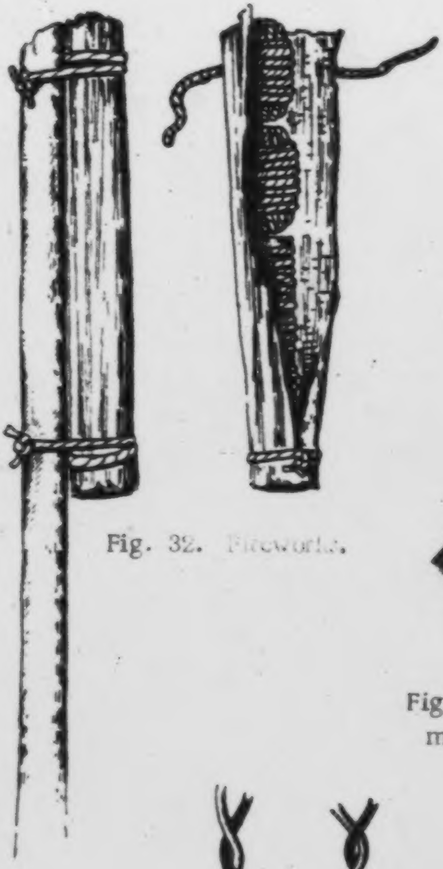

Fig. 32. Fireworks.

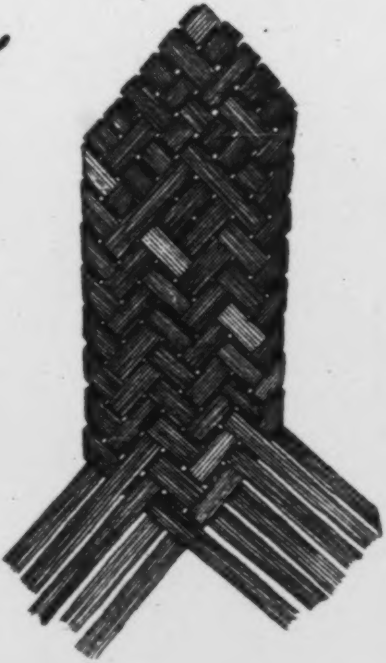

Fig. 33. Plaited strip for making the straw hat.

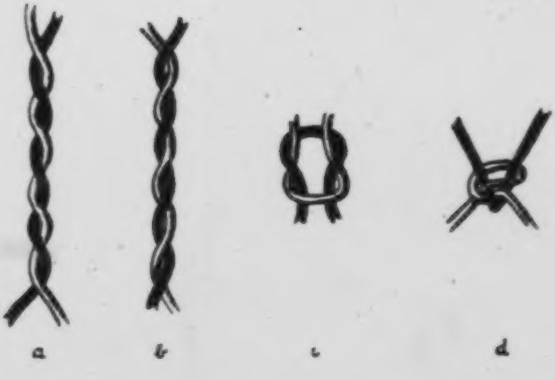

Fig. 34. a = S-twisting b = Z-twisting
c = symmetrical knots d = fish-net knots

XV

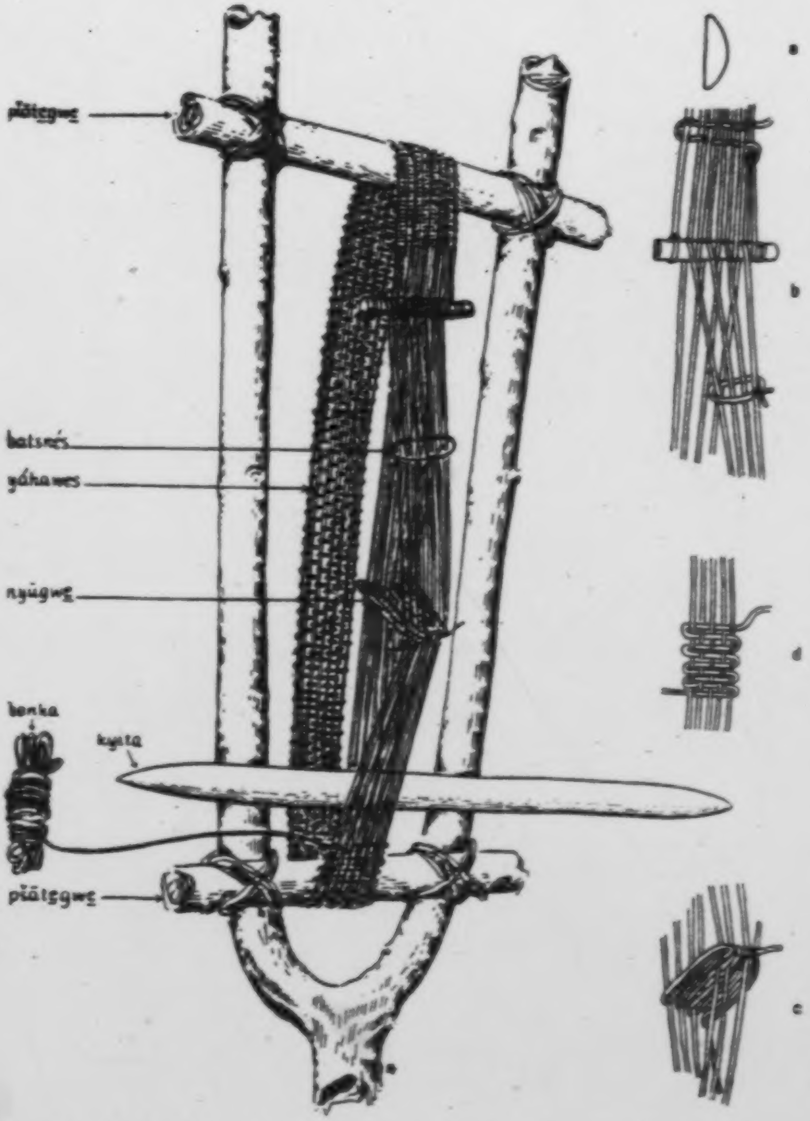
piätęgwę
batsnés
yáhawes
nyügwę
bonka
kyita
piätęgwę
a
b
d
c

Fig. 35. Weaving apparatus for making the carrying bands of the fiber bags.

a = Section of the weaving sword
b = Method of stretching the warp threads
c = Heddle loops
d = Weaving pattern

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[534]
[284]
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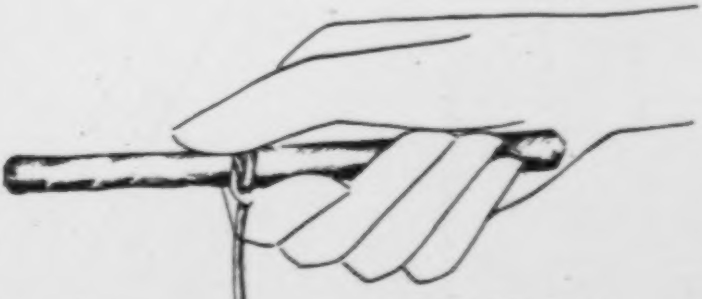

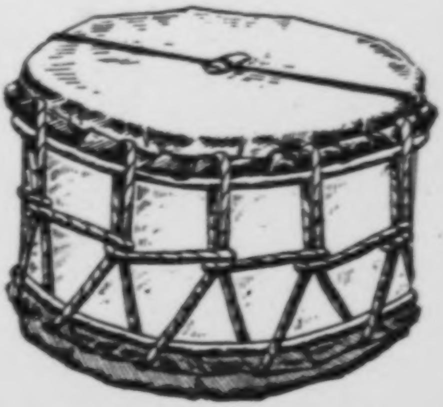

Fig. 37. Drum (underside).

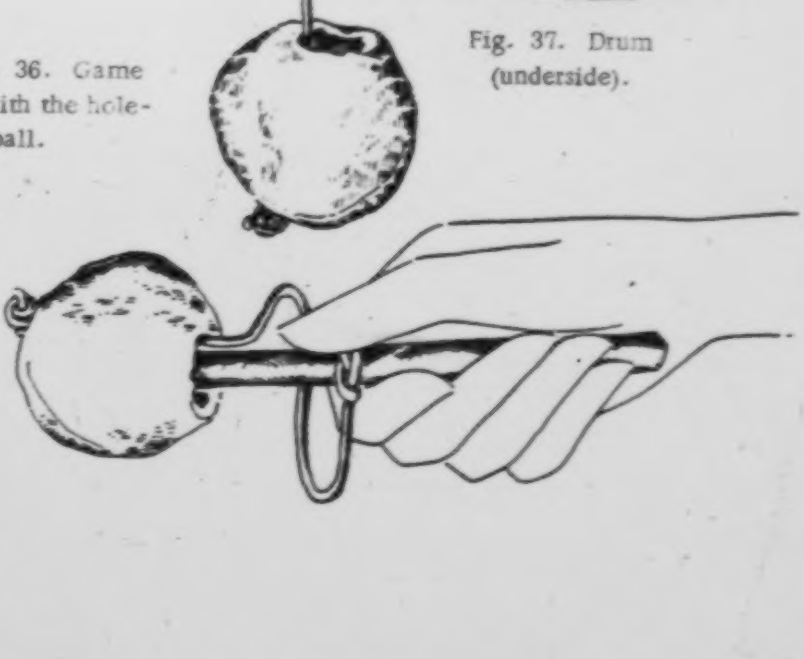

Fig. 36. Game with the hole-ball.

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Colombia SC1

XVII

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Ill. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

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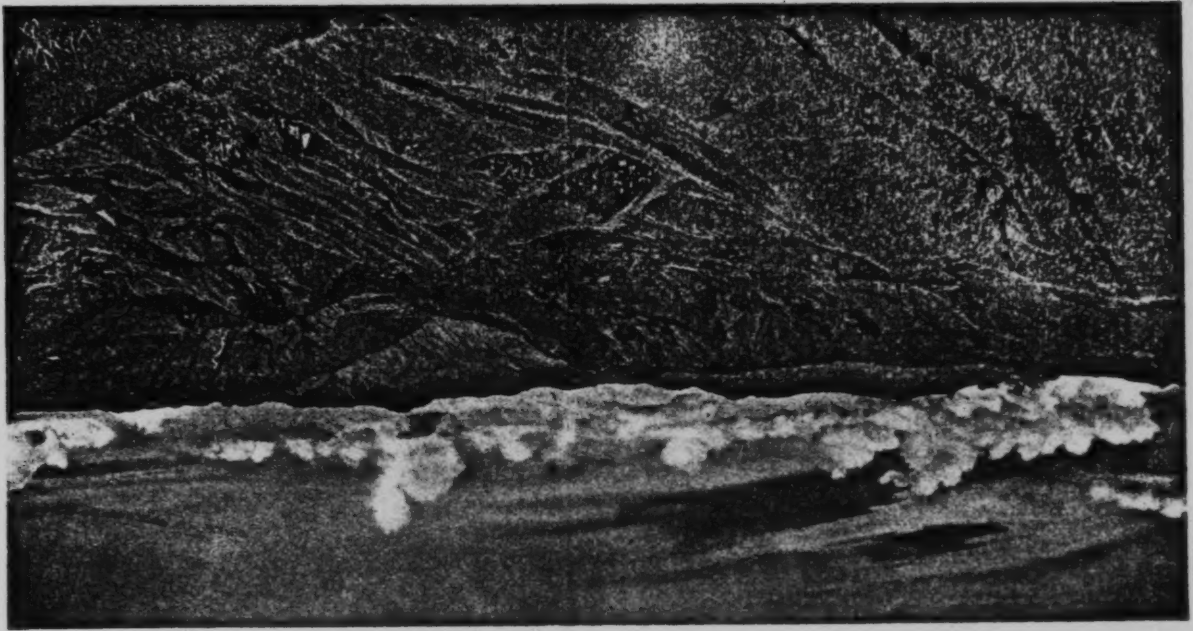
Ill. 2. The market of Inzá.

Ill. 3. Church of San Andrés

Ill. 4. Church of Santa Rosa.

XIX



Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro.

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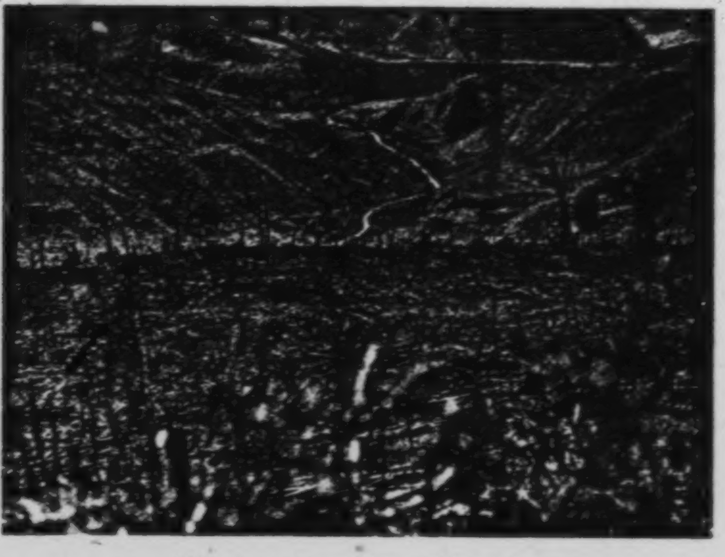

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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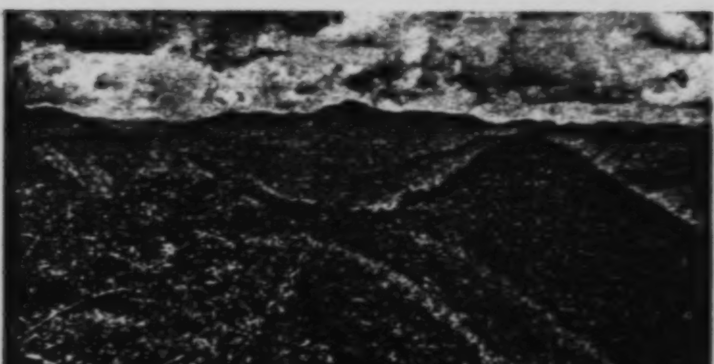
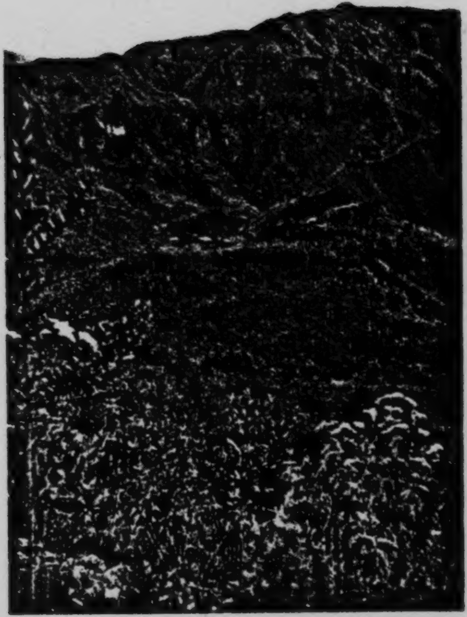


Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

Ill. 8. The San Andrés valley.



Ill. 9. The artificially leveled-off hill Segovia.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI are omitted in the translation./

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LXXVII

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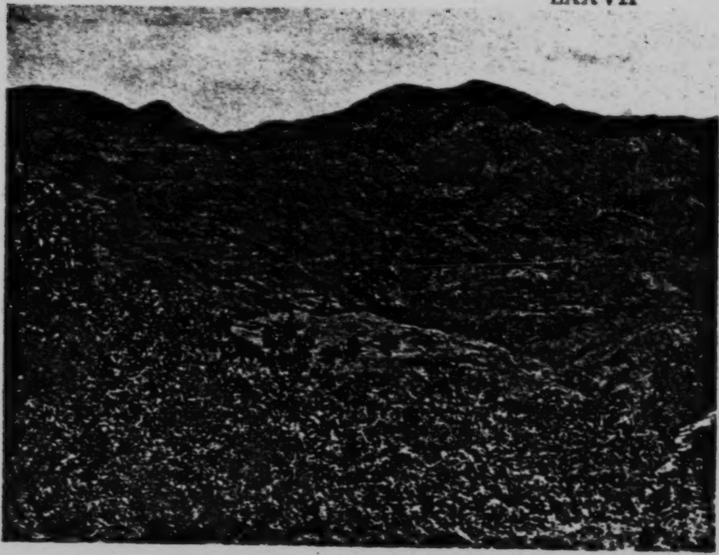
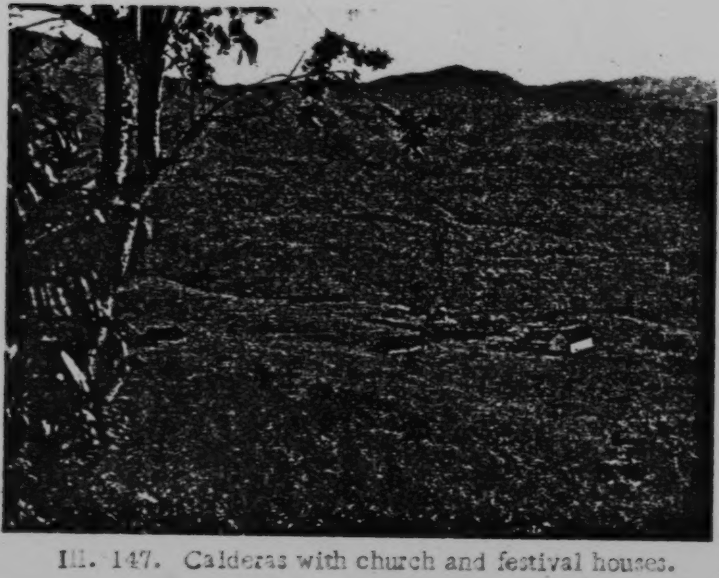


Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyõ with Calderas.

[346]



Ill. 147. Calderas with church and festival houses.

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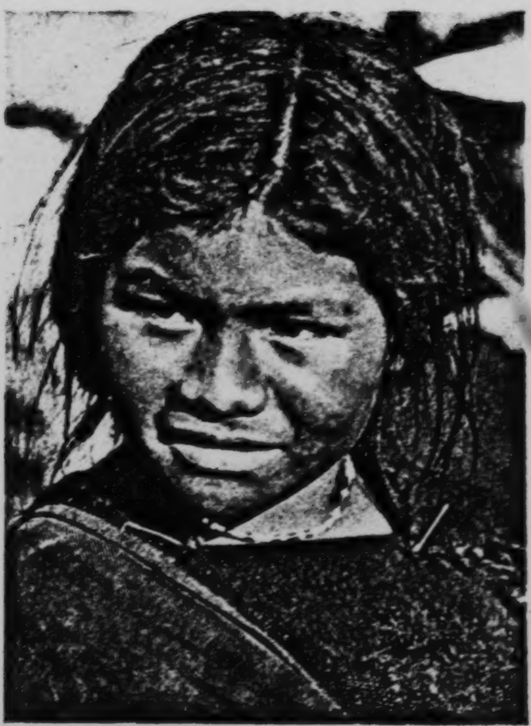

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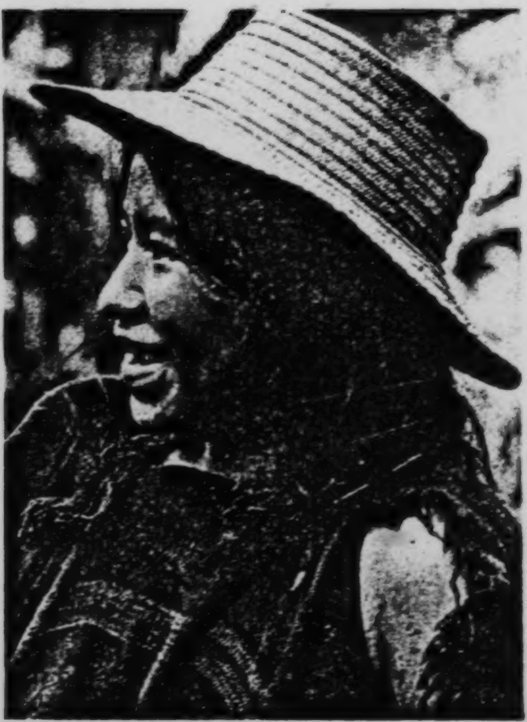

Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

LXXIX

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda.

LXXXI

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuē.

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Ill. 156. Field hut.

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Ill. 157. Dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field.

Ill. 158. Field hut made out of maize stalks.

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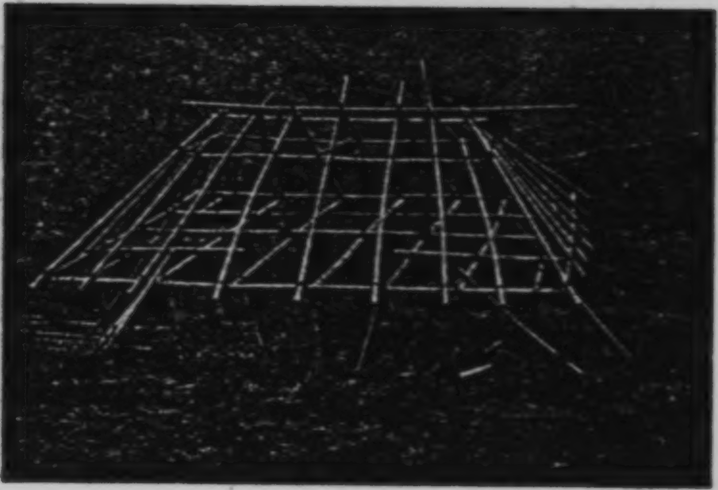
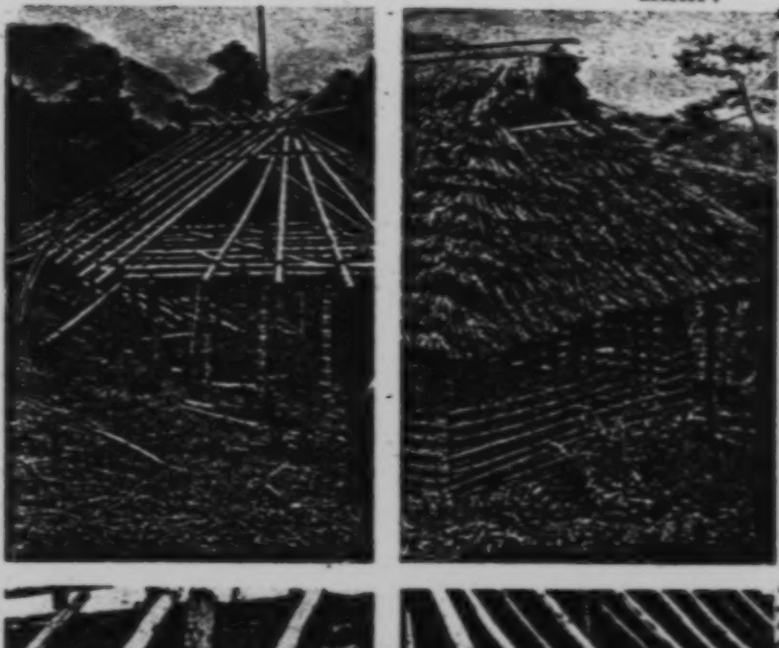
Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house.



Ill. 160. Frame of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

342



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Ills. 161-164. House construction.

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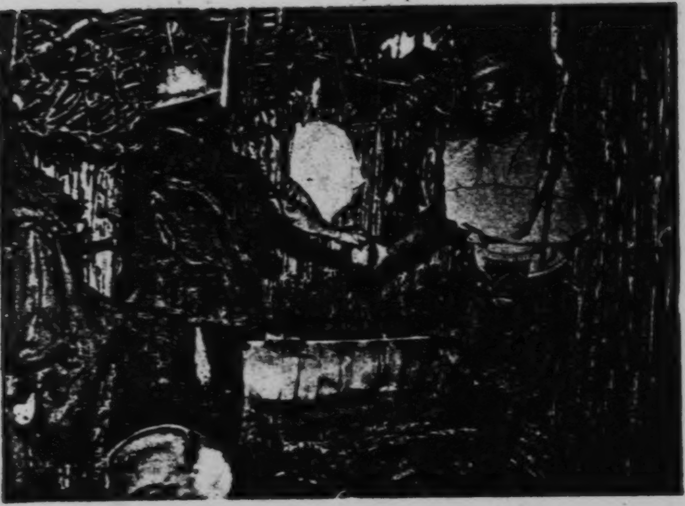

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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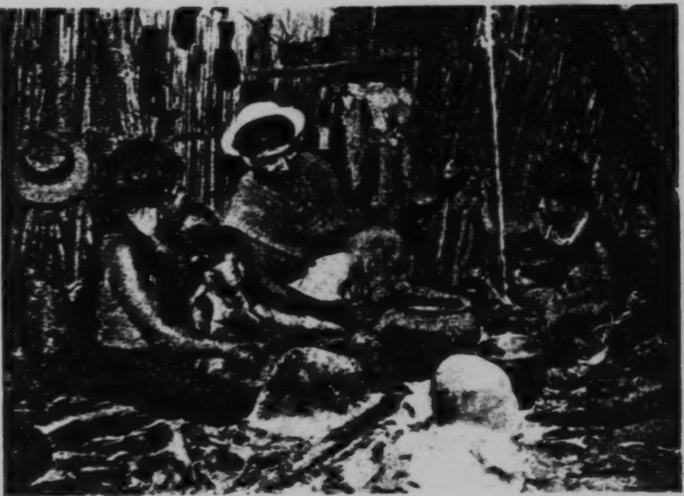

Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

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Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.

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Ill. 169. Section of a field readied for burning.

Ill. 170. Area used by the village, with fields cleared by burning.

LXXXIX

Ill. 171. Burning the felled trees.

244

Ill. 172. Setting out the sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

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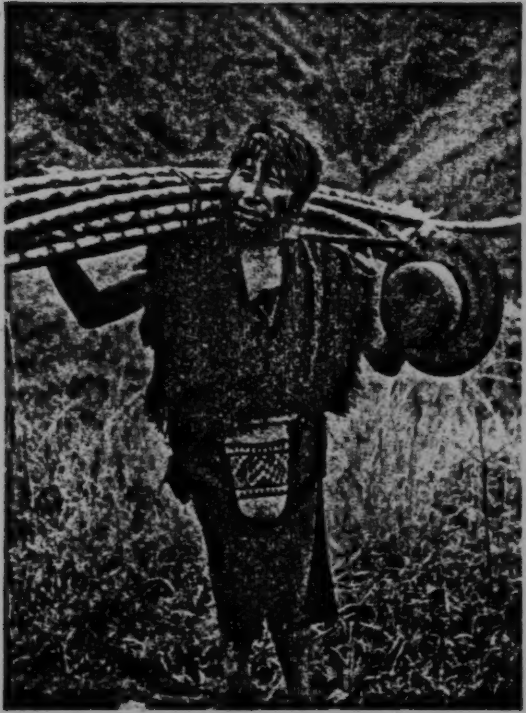
Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.



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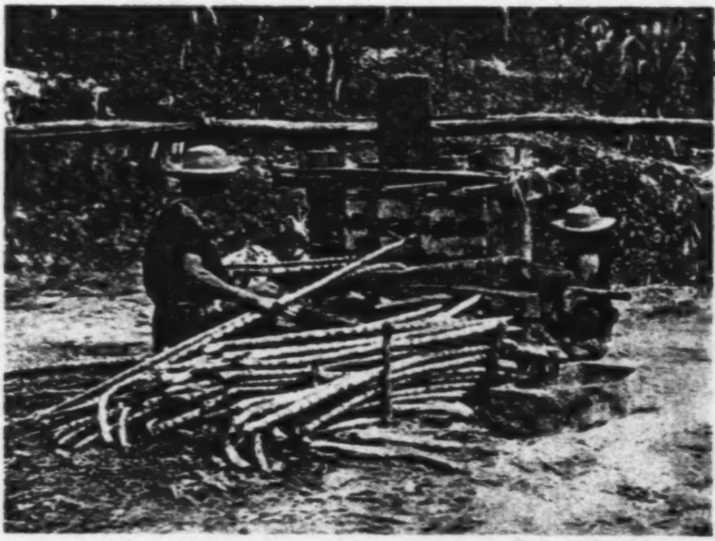
Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.



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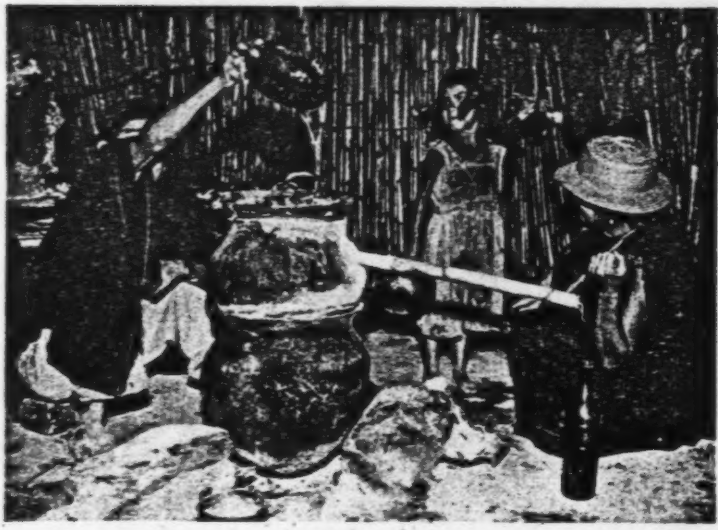
Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.



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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

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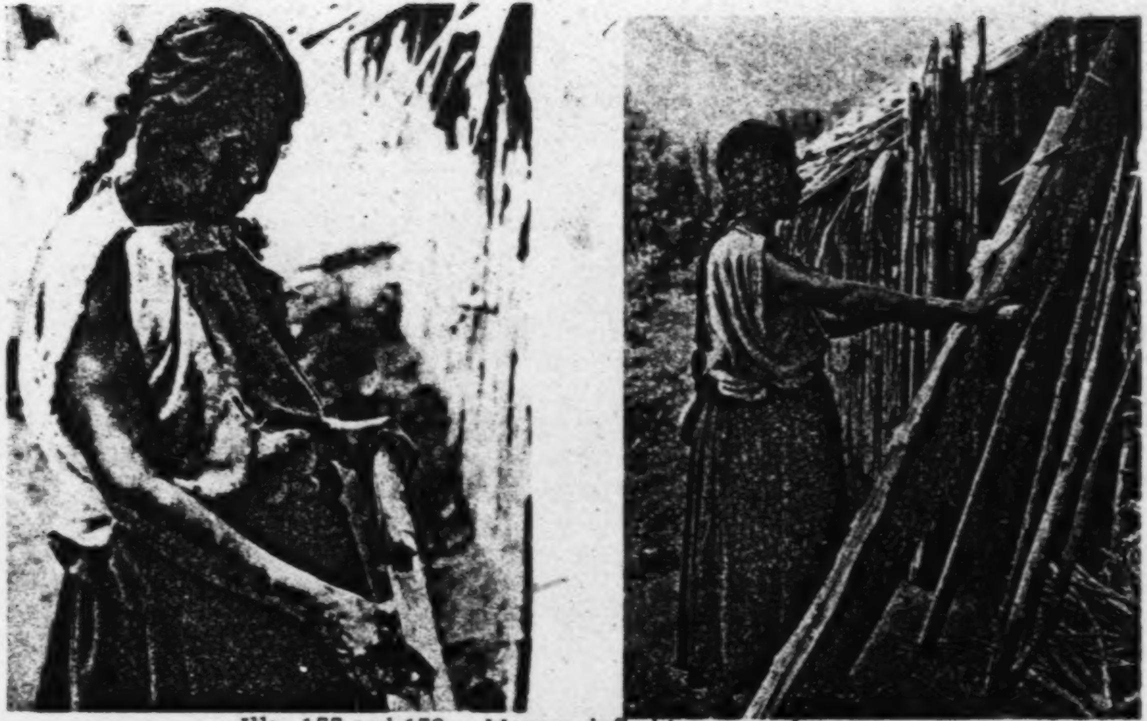
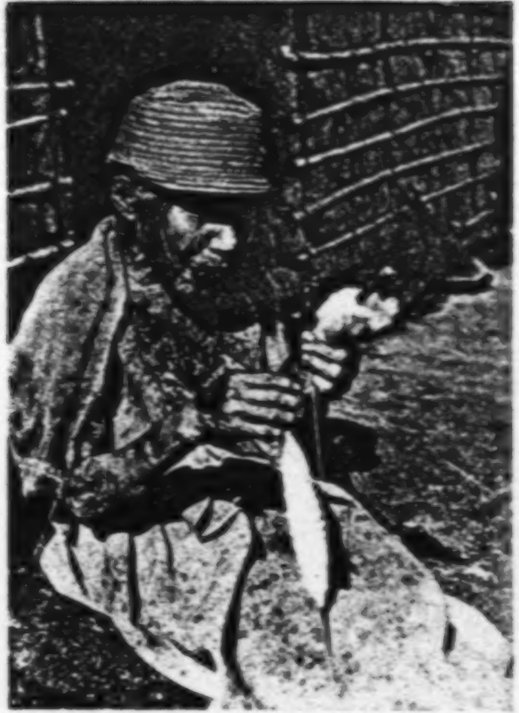
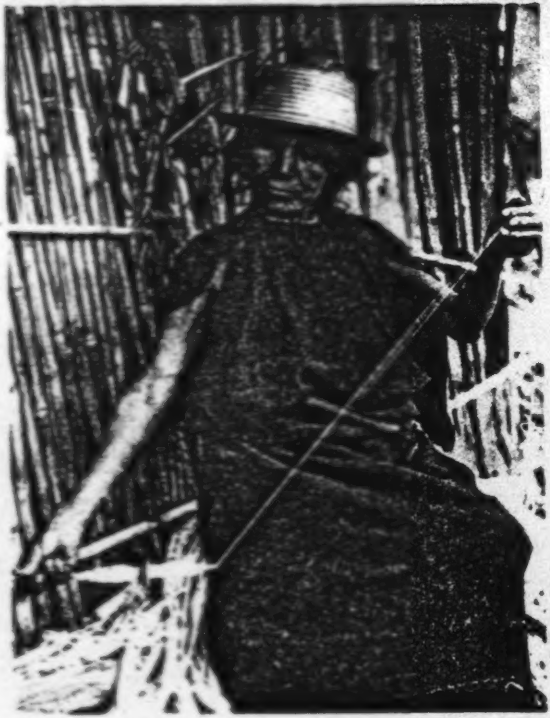


Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.



Ill. 179. Spinning with the drop spindle.



Ill. 180. Twisting the spun wool thread.

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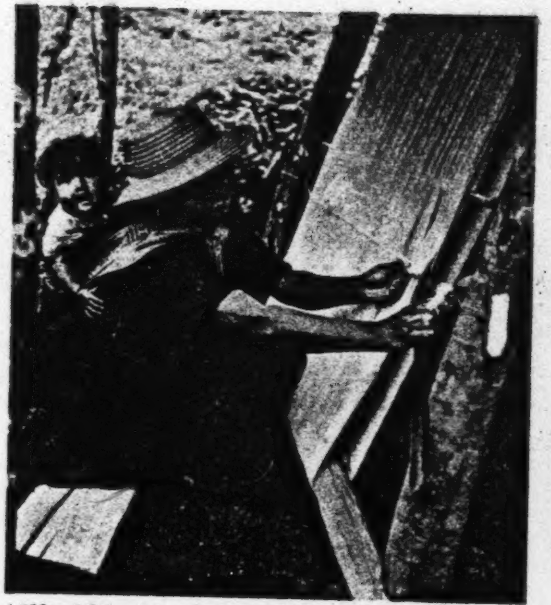
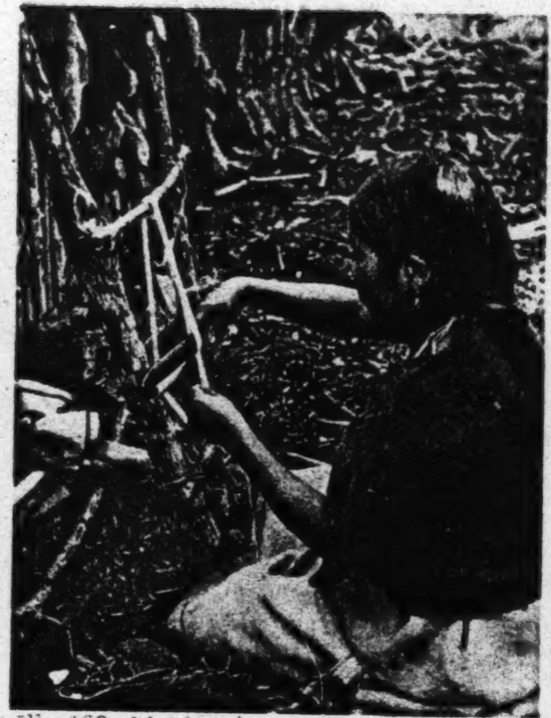
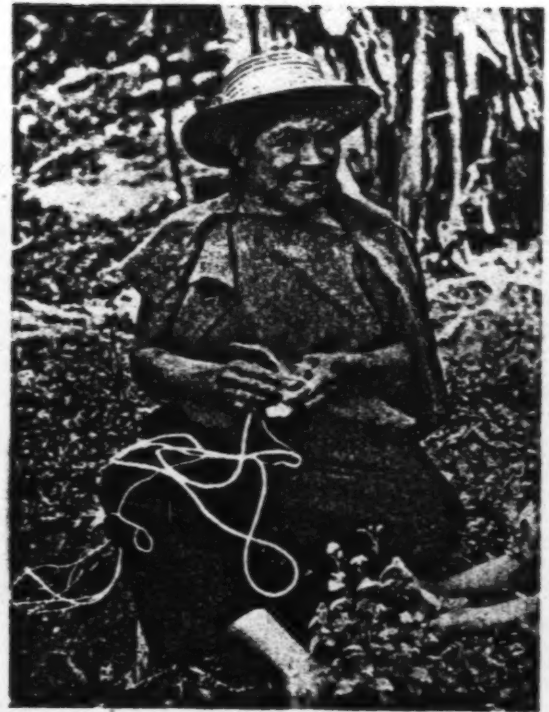
XCIV


Ill. 181. Weaver making wool cloth.


Ill. 182. Making the carrying bands for the fiber bags.



Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag.

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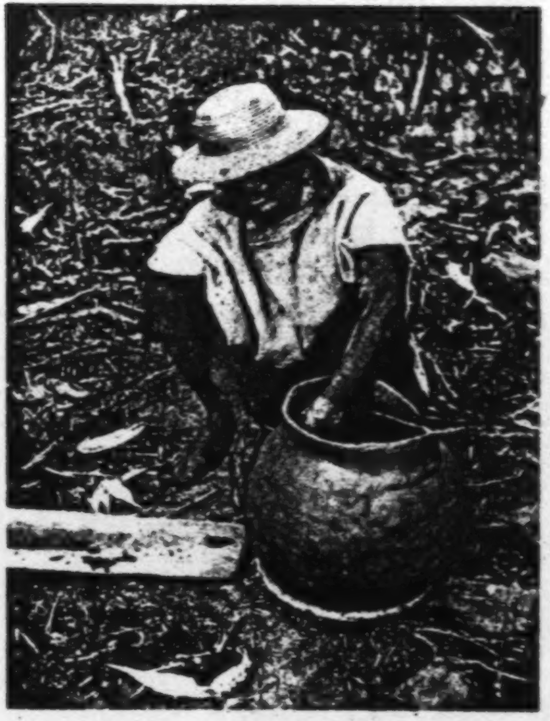

Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

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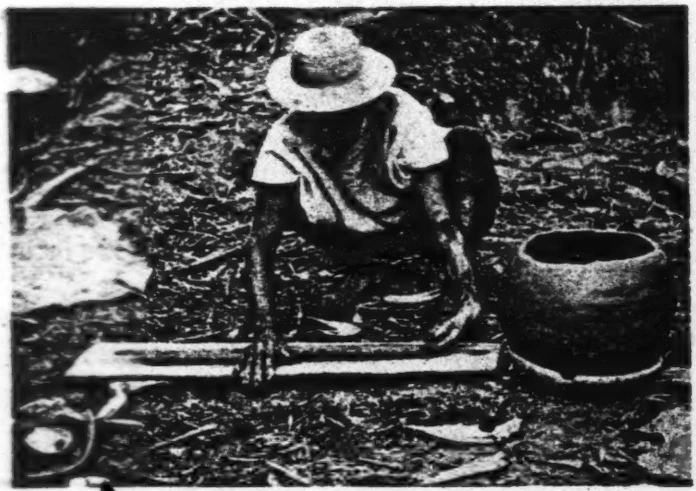

Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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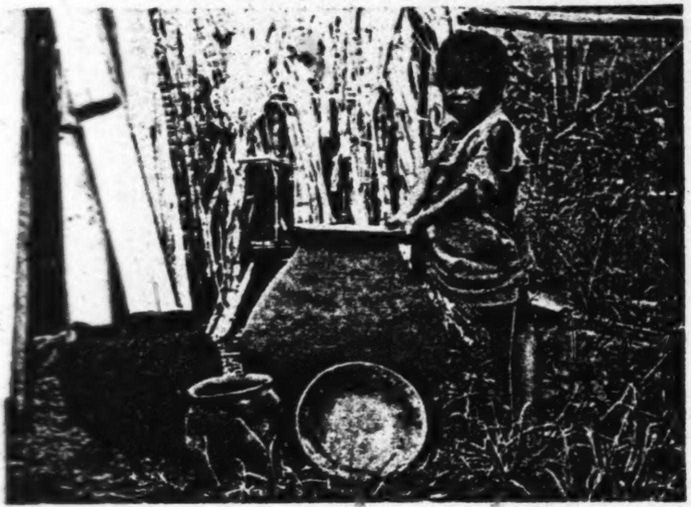

Ill. 186. Types of Paez Ceramics.

XCVII

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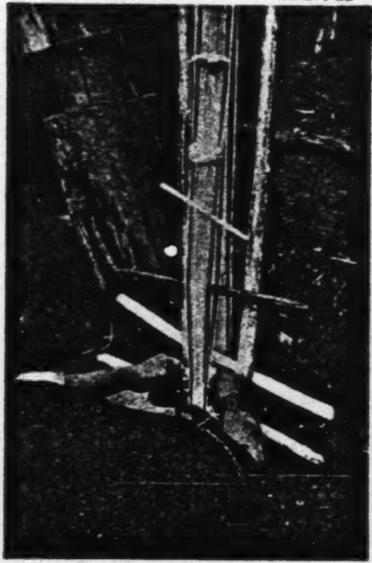
Ill. 187. Making a woman's colored belt.



Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp.

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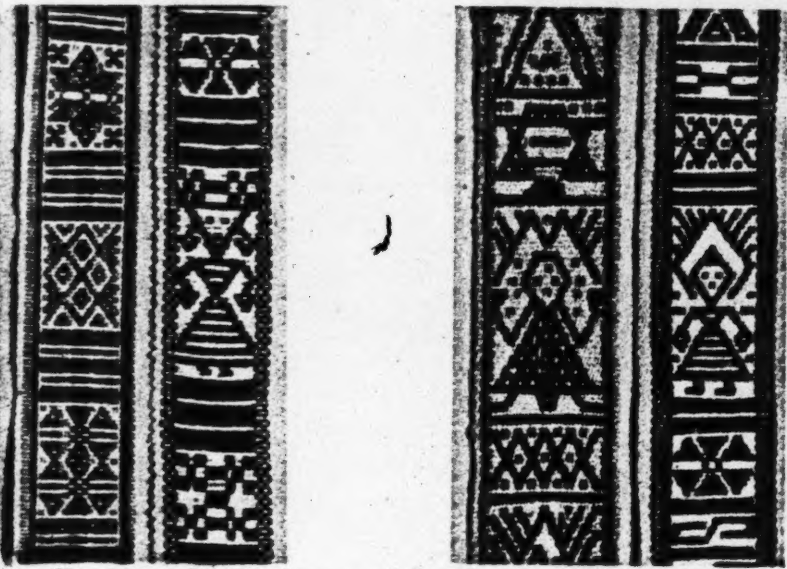
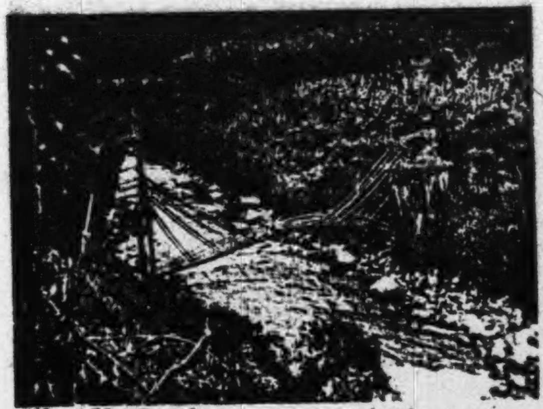


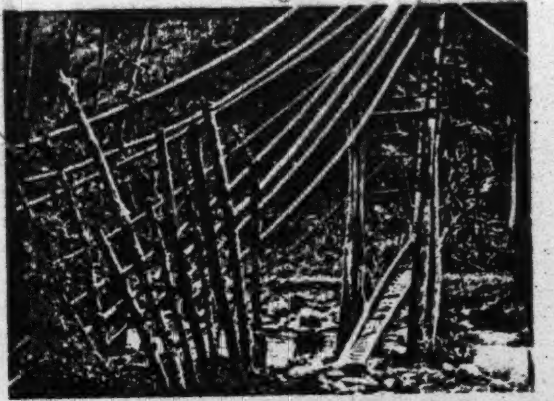
Ills. 189 and 190. Pattern of the women's colored belts.

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge near Avirama.

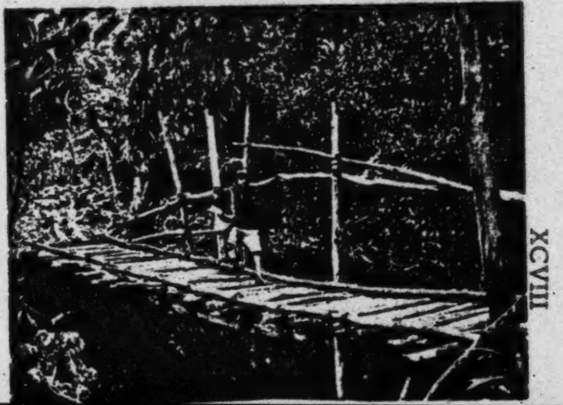


Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge near Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge.



Ill. 194. Timber bridge over the Rio Kokiyó.



Ill. 195. Timber bridge with protective roof.

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge.

1: Nachtigall--286 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
IC

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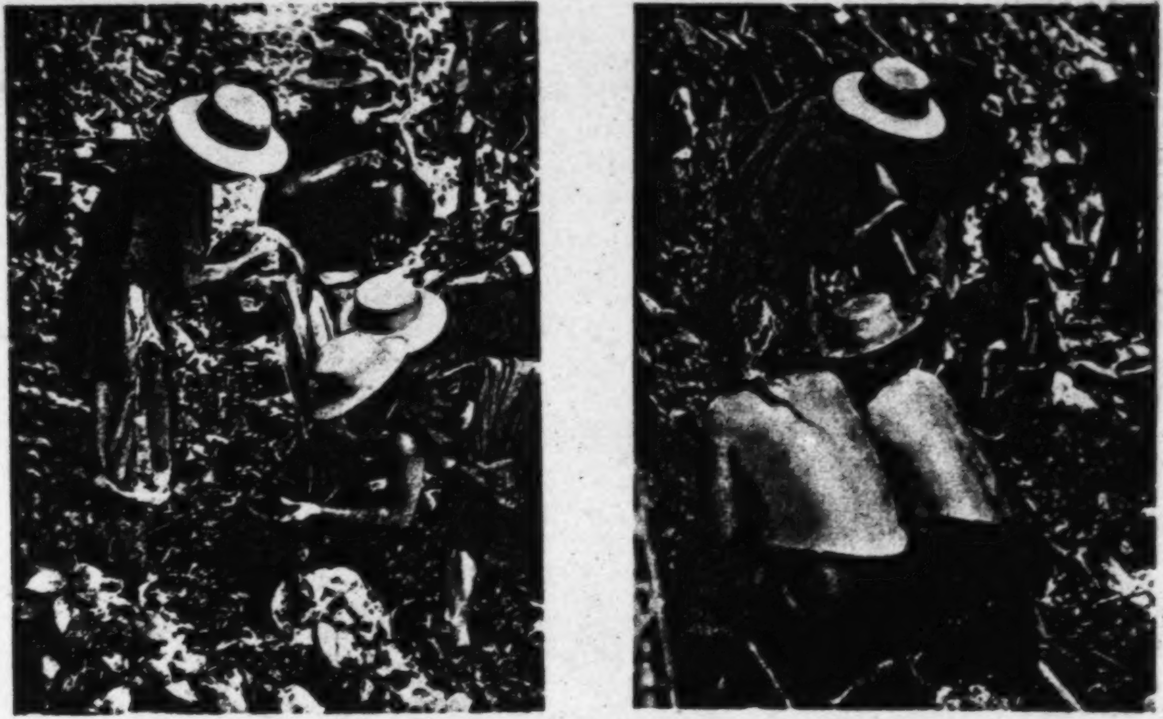

Ills. 208 and 209. Ritual purification after a burial.

CV

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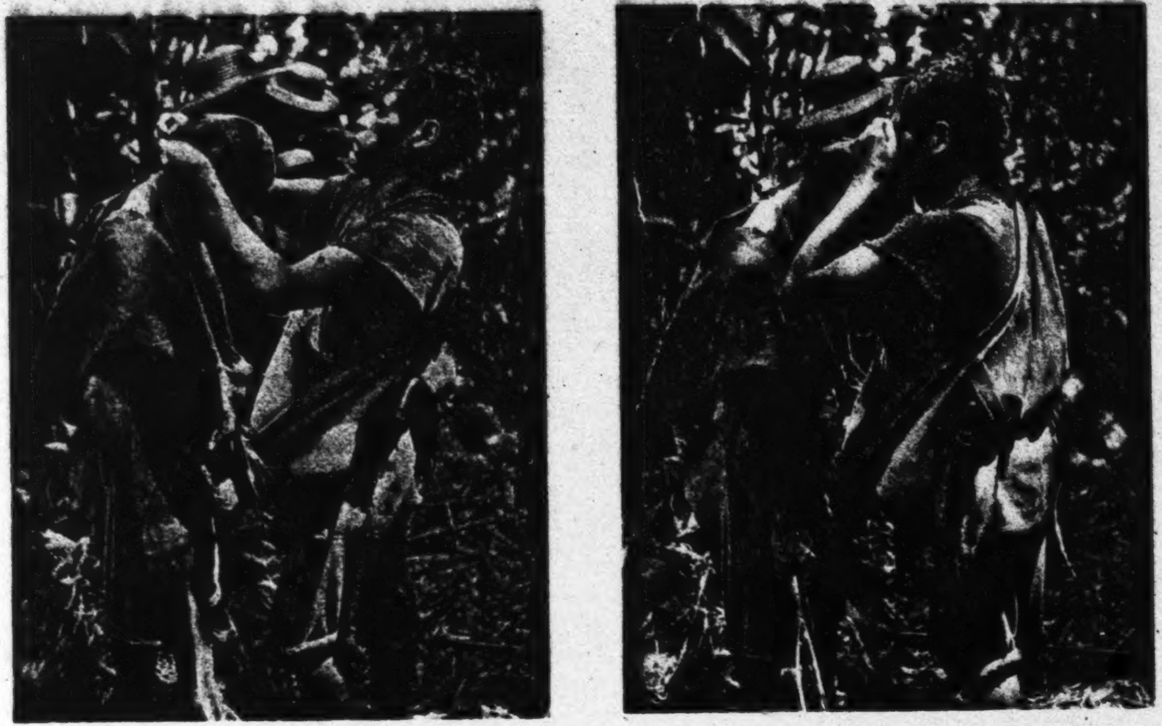

Ills. 210 and 211. Sucking out the "pest."

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Ill. 212. The shaman spits the "pest" into a hole.

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/CVIII is a blank page./

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/For information on the various ceremonies and rituals associated with purification of the participants of a burial, see categories 783, 764, and 765./

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/For information on Paez folklore, including examples of their tales, see category 116, pp. 215-238./

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[For special vocabularies associated with various aspects of material culture, see the following pages in category 116:

houses and house construction -- pp. 33-38
household tools, implements and furnishings -- pp. 40-41
clothing and ornaments -- pp. 42-45
agriculture -- pp. 49-53
extraction of sugar cane juice and use of juice for chicha -- pp. 58-61
animal husbandry--pp. 62-65
hunting, fishing and fowling -- pp. 65-69
weapons -- pp. 69-70
crafts and techniques -- pp. 72-90.

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/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

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/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

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/For lists of titles associated with the various political offices of the community, see category 116, pp. 99-103./

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/General information on the region of Tierradentro will be found in category 101./

[For descriptive information on the Paez sugar-cane processing mill, see category 407.]

[For information on the details of bridge construction, see also category 491.]

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/Information on Paez tales and myths regarding various gods and spirits in their pantheon will be found only in category 539./

/Information on the gobernador as leader of the village and head of the Cabildo will be found in category 623./

[For information on the interpretation of "signs" (e.g., muscle twitches) by the shaman for purposes other than the diagnosis of disease, see category 787.]

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[Information on shamanistic "signs" consisting, for example, of muscle twitches in the eye or hand or other reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer and considered as direct signs from the spirits, is filed in category 755 for divinatory practices in curing, or in 787 when non-diagnostic practices are discussed.]

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[Information on the Capitan and Síndico as representatives of the church in the council and community affairs will be found in category 624.]

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[For general information on the organizers and leaders of the various Paez fiesta (e.g., the fiesteros, albaceros and mayordomos) and their roles, see category 796.]